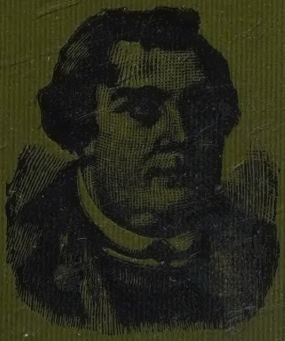
Luther



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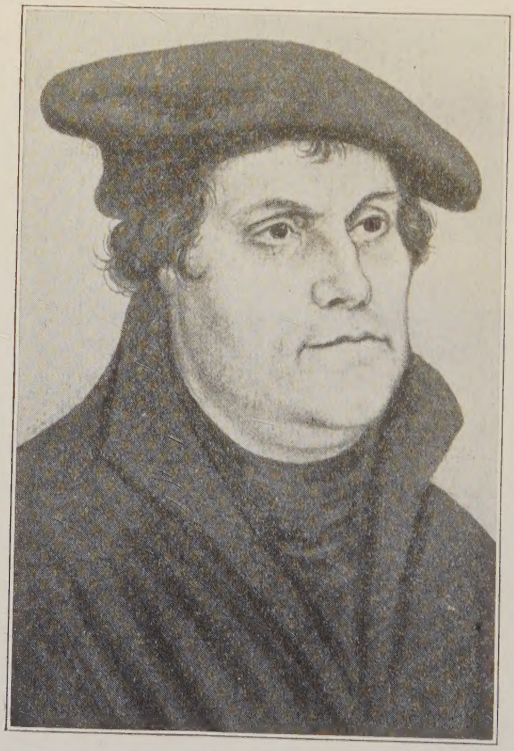

LUTHER.

AFTER CRANACH.

In the Germanic National Museum at Nuernberg.

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Martin Luther

HIS LIFE AND HIS LABOR

for the

PLAIN PEOPLE

by

WILLIAM DALLMANN

Speaking the truth in love. Eph. 4, 15

066058

St. Louis, Mo.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
1917

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FOREWORD.

"The life of Luther is one for which we find no parallel in any history, and as such it is worth knowing," says John H. Treadwell. That is quite true, and that is one reason for writing this book.

"That the principles of Martin Luther are the fundamental principles of our American Republic there can be no question. Surely, then, it is incumbent upon us . . . to know him better," says the same Mr. Treadwell. Quite true again, and that is another reason for this writing.

"There is no doubt that the religious problem to-day is still the Luther Problem, and since almost every statement of those religious doctrines which are opposed to Catholic moral teaching find their authorization in the theology of Martin Luther, every Catholic should acquaint himself with the life-story of the man," says the Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph. D., Professor at the Catholic University at Washington, D. C. That is quite true, and that is a third reason for writing this life-story; Luther is up to date, very much so.

Goethe, in 1827, finds Luther "a genius of very great sort," that has not ceased to work and will not cease to work as far as we can see into the future; and Cardinal John Henry Newman says: "The Reformation set in motion that process of which the issue is still in the future." Quite true; Luther will be very much alive for a long time to come, in fact, till Judgment Day. And that is a fourth reason for this book.

This book is not written for the pupil in the school nor for the student in the study, but for the plain people in their homes, though it is based on the latest findings of historical experts. More has been written about Luther than any other person save our Savior, yet nothing so far on the market seemed to fill just this need. And that is a fifth reason for getting out this book.

Wishing to sell the book at a popular price, the publisher set a limit of three hundred pages, including the numerous illustrations. This was done after the work was written, and it compelled omissions, easily understood by giving only one look at the five closely printed volumes the Catholic Grisar devoted to his life of Luther.

Lest he seem partial to his hero, the writer quotes authors neither German nor Lutheran.

The reader may rest assured the Catholic Church has not been wronged; the writer's statements may be verified in the twelve volumes of the *History of the Popes* by Prof. Dr. Ludwig Pastor, a Catholic historian, whose work has been endorsed by the Pope.

The writer hopes it may not be deemed amiss in this Luther year to make an end with a word of Luther: "I have done the best I could and upon my conscience; have thereby forced no one to read it, and only to serve those who cannot do better. No one is forbidden to make a better one. If you do not wish to read, let it lie. I do not beg any one."

W. D.

Milwaukee, October 31, 1917.

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EISLEBEN.

CHAPTER ONE.

Young Luther.

"Blessed be the day of Martin Luther's birth! It should be a festival second only to that of the nativity of Jesus Christ," says Robert Southey, the crowned poet of England. And the American Edwin D. Mead says: "Luther is the most influential and significant man in the spiritual history of mankind since Christ." And the German Catholic scholar Friedrich von Schlegel says: "I think there are few, even of his own disciples, who appreciate Luther highly enough."

Let us learn to know him, and thus to appreciate him, now that the world is preparing to celebrate anew his great work.

Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, at Eisleben, and baptized the next day, and named Martin, for the saint of the day, Martin of Tours, the saint on horseback who halved his cloak with his sword, and shared it with a beggar, — a thing that Luther did all his life.

BIRTHPLACE OF LUTHER AT EISLEBEN.

About six months after, Father Hans moved to Mansfeld to work in the copper mines, although his forbears had been peasants at Mochra, in the moor lands of Thueringen, where six Luther families still live to this day.

Hans was wretchedly poor, and his wife Margaret car-

LUTHER'S PARENTS.

ried the fire-wood home on her bent back to help make both ends meet and rear the children. Millet's "Angelus" may give us some idea of the parents.

Martin had an older brother, and at least two more, and three sisters. Martin and James were so attached to each other that neither enjoyed his games and meals without the other, and Martin took good care of the younger children. That is about all we know of them. That is the price we pay for a famous brother — the more distinguished he, the more extinguished we.

"My father once flogged me so severely that I fled and had a grudge against him. My parents were so hard on me that I grew shy. On account of a miserable nut my mother once beat me till the blood flowed." He forgave them their Spartan severity — "they meant heartily well."

In his experience he learned a golden rule for rearing children, "One must punish so that the apple goes with the rod." Not the apple alone, nor the rod alone, but apple and rod in proper proportion and at the right time and in the right place. After four hundred years we may still learn from Luther; "Young America" needs a bit less apple and a bit more rod.

When the little lad's legs gave way, Nick Oemler would carry him a ways to school, for which kindness Luther in his old age still was thankful to his brother-in-law.

Clubbing was the chief pastime of the teacher, who in one morning beat little Luther fifteen times for not knowing a lesson in grammar that no one had taught him. Certainly a good preparatory school for the University of Hard Knocks to which Luther later had to become accustomed. Happy school days in the good old time! In these times — 1492, to be exact — Christopher Columbus discovered America.

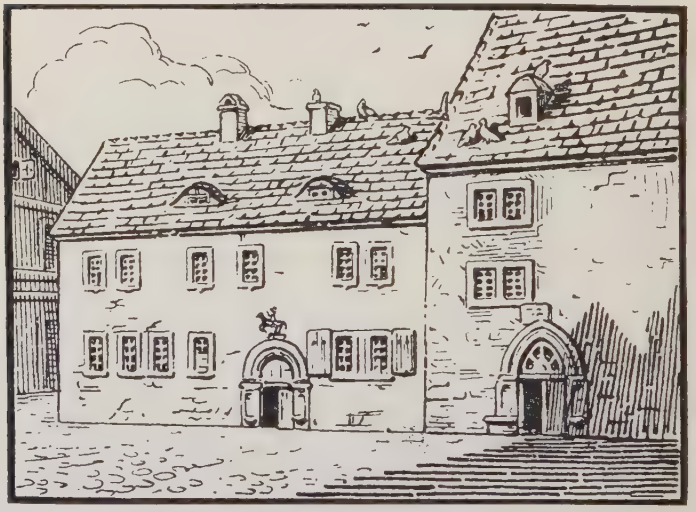
To worsen matters, Luther heard weird tales of horrible witches who made children cry and parsons die, and of hob-goblins who haunted the woods and the mines; at any rate

MANSFELD.

LUTHER'S HOME AT MANSFELD.

they surely haunted the mind of the imaginative boy, and impressed him for life. He learned but one way to help himself against these infernal foes, — "Help, St. Ann!" Annaberg, a new mine, was placed under her protection by Duke George of Mansfeld.

When twelve, the boy was confirmed, without knowing Christ as his Savior.



LUTHER SCHOOL IN MANSFELD.

When fourteen, he attended the Latin school at Magdeburg, a busy place of forty thousand on the Elbe; here he sang from door to door to beg his bread, as did other scholars who were hungry for bread and hungry for learning.

While singing their bread chorus for their Christmas dinner, they heard a farmer's gruff voice call out, "Where are you, boys?" They were so frightened they scampered off. The farmer with the rough voice had a Christmas heart, and got the lads to return and get some succulent sausages. A Merry Christmas to them!

A few times the hungry lad could eat his fill at Mosshauer's, an official of the archbishop; his mess-mates there were John Reineck, son of a burgher of Mansfeld, and Claus Sturm, later burgomaster of Magdeburg.

Here, in 1497, Luther saw Prince William of Anhalt, become a Franciscan monk, barefoot, bearing a bag of bread he had begged, and tottering under the burden, so feeble he had grown through fastings and scourgings. Luther's receptive soul was deeply impressed with this princely man's humble holiness. Let us remember this.

Another thing that made a deep impression on his young mind was the painting of the great ship of the Church sailing toward heaven with the Holy Ghost for pilot and priests and monks for crew, with the Pope, cardinals, and bishops on board. The laymen? They were in the water, some drowning, some swimming, some clinging to the cords of good works thrown to them by the clergy in the boat. The layman's only hope of heaven was to be towed there by the superfluous good works of the clergy. Luther thought, How safe and blessed to be a cleric *in* the ship! Let us remember this picture.

Down with the fever, water strictly forbidden, everybody to church, Luther crawls to the kitchen, drinks his fill of cold water, on hands and knees back to his mat, falls asleep, wakes up quite well, — thank you!

Home from school, Martin heard his father tell how Graf Guenther died in his arms, trusting alone in the merits of Christ as his testament. Young Martin then thought that an absurd testament, — the Count should rather have left something respectable to the cloister! The bright student did not know Christ as his Savior.

In 1498, young Martin went to Eisenach, hoping help from his relatives. They would not or they could not help, and so Luther had to help himself by singing for bread in the strange streets. These irregular meals and this lack of

meals no doubt laid the foundation for his future stomach troubles. One day he sang before three doors, and was turned away from all three; and then the hungry lad thought of giving up his studies and going to work at his father's furnace. He tried a fourth time, and of course his eye and

LUTHER HOUSE AT EISENACH.

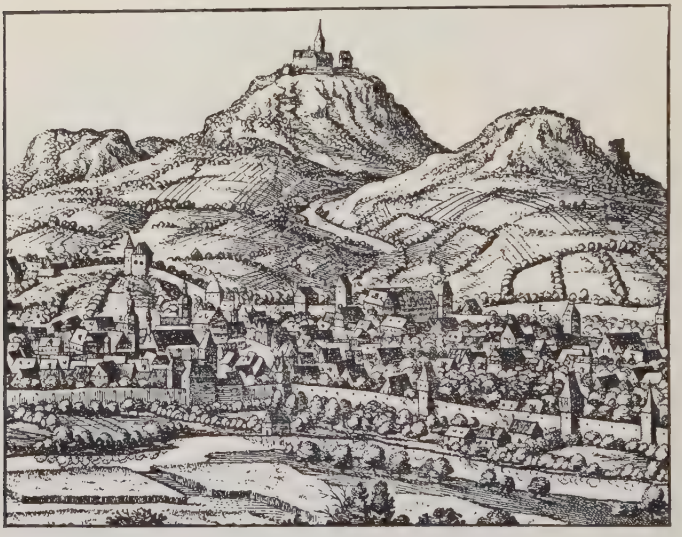
his voice were appealing, and face and song appealed to Dame Ursula, wife of Conrad Cotta, wealthy merchant of Italian descent, who took to him and took him in. Here his heart had a happy home. Mrs. Cotta took in a stranger, and entertained an angel unawares. On her deathbed, on November 29, 1511, the worthy matron said God had signally blessed her since taking Martin under her roof. God bless her! Her kindness

LUTHER TAKEN IN BY URSULA COTTA.

to Martin made her immortal. In a note to Prov. 31, 10 Luther later celebrated a saying of his hostess, "Nothing more lovely on earth than the love of a good woman."

Let our Ladies' Aids be encouraged to become Ursula Cottas, and aid needy students for the holy ministry.

In the house opposite Cotta's was born the mightiest



EISENACH WITH THE WARTBURG.

master of music, Johann Sebastian Bach, who poured out some of his genius on Luther's hymns.

Master John Trebonius of St. George's School was a shining exception among the school tyrants of those good old times, for he politely doffed his hat on entering the room because God might make a mayor, or chancellor, or learned doctor, or ruler of some of the young pupils sitting there, though now unknown, and it was fitting to do them honor. Also, he was a good Latin scholar and teacher.

Vicar Braun of St. Mary's was another to whom Luther

was deeply grateful for kindness received. For his teacher Wigand Luther later urged a respectable pension.

Eisenach was overlooked by the storied Wartburg, and tales of the Meistersingers and St. Elizabeth filled the mind of the happy student, who ranked his class in rhetoric and poetry.

At the foot of the Wartburg was the Franciscan Cloister of St. Elizabeth, and Luther became friendly with the barefooters, who told him of the imprisoned John Hillen foretelling a reformation of the Church by a monk about 1516. "At that time I did not think I would be that monk."

In 741, Boniface built a church on St. Mary's Hill, and founded a bishopric at Erfurt, which became the many-towered and many-cloistered, the Garden City, "the lard mine," as Luther named it for its great wealth.

In 1501, when eighteen, "Martinus Ludher ex Mansfelt" registered as student in Germany's most famous University of Erfurt, which had thirteen regular professors, many rich endowments, and some four hundred students.

Luther began the day with prayer, attended early mass and the other services, and kept all the rules of the Church. When there were no lectures, he nosed about in the library. He was jovial and popular with the students, who dubbed him "The Philosopher" — very significant.

Cutting the fast set, who attended "the lectures of King Gambrinus and of Squire Tannhaeuser," Luther applied himself to his books, so that after one year he became a Bachelor of Philosophy, standing thirtieth in a class of fifty-seven. He now lectured on Aristotle. His enemies do not deny his claim to being master of the schoolmen's knowledge, and in due time he says his instructors did not understand their own Aristotle.

In 1505, Luther became a Master of Arts, ranking second in a class of seventeen. The new Masters were

honored with special celebrations and torch-light processions. "I hold that there is no joy pertaining to this world and on this side of the grave that can compare with it."

His tutor Grefenstein confided to him Hus had been burned by ignorant tyrants. Also, he heard of John von

ENTRANCE TO UNIVERSITY OF ERFURT.

Wesel's teaching that Christ is in the Sacrament somewhat like the soul in the body.

Let us note these two facts.

By hard work and severe saving Hans Luther got on and leased two furnaces from the Count of Mansfeld, and became the first of the four aldermen of the town. He now sent funds to Martin, and planned for him a career as lawyer,

and even had his eye on a proper wife for his clever boy. The father proposed, but God disposed.

When twenty, Luther found a Bible in the library, and was surprised to find in it many more things than were usually preached on in the pulpits. With great joy he read the beautiful story of Hannah and Samuel, and earnestly prayed God might some day make him the happy owner of such a book. He also read things that did not seem to agree very well with things he saw and heard in the church. Strange thoughts worried his soul, and he closed the book, and returned to it no more.

On the way home for a visit at Easter, in 1504, Luther accidentally wounded himself in the leg with the sword carried by all students of the time, and nearly bled to death before a doctor could come; during the night the wound burst open again. Both times Luther was in fear of death, and prayed for help to — the Virgin Mary! "Had I died then, I should have placed my trust for salvation in Mary." He did not know Christ as his Savior.

An aged friend visited and comforted him, "Dear Bachelor, never mind, you will some day be a great man."

While recovering, Luther taught himself to play the lute, and all through life "Dame Musica" remained his best friend next to theology.

Let us by all means cultivate good music.

A classmate, John Buntz, who had already passed his examinations for the Master's degree, died suddenly. "To-day red, to-morrow dead; to-day to me, to-morrow to thee." What an impressive warning to seek something else than academic degrees and worldly honors!

How can I get a merciful God?

Returning from a visit home, on July 2, 1505, a terrific storm broke over him; the lightning flashed and the thunder crashed — "Help, dear Saint Ann, and I'll turn monk!"

The die was cast.

On July 16, 1505, he entertained his chums and sang for them. "To-day you still see me, and then nevermore." The next morning at ten they saw him to the Augustinian cloister. The gate opened; Luther entered; the gate closed; the friends returned in tears.

"I made the vow for the salvation of my soul. I entered the spiritual state for no other reason than to serve God and please Him in eternity."

"If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me." Matt. 16, 24—26.

CHAPTER TWO.

Friar Martin.

The cloister-bell knolled, the monks filed into the chapel, Luther threw himself down before the prior at the altar —

"What do you want?"

"God's mercy and your society."

The prior made clear the drudgery of the monkish life; the shame of begging for the cloister; the heavy yoke of the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

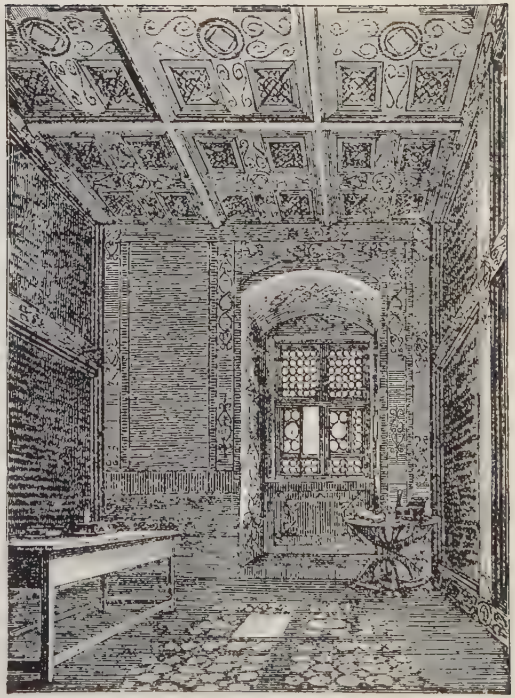
Nothing daunted, Luther was ready to bear all, with the help of God.

Stripped of his lay clothing, he received a woolen undergarment to wear in honor of the Virgin Mary; then the black gown with a short cowl and black belt; at last the scapular, a strip of white cloth hanging around the neck over the breast, and worn only in the cloister in place of the cowl, to remind him of the easy yoke Christ lays upon His people.

The Probationer.

The Master of the novices took the new recruit of the papal janizaries in charge to teach him monkish manners — not to contradict his superiors; not to say *mine* and *me,* but *ours* and *us;* how to enter the door; how to be seated; how to rise; how to walk with downcast eyes; how to carry the hands hid under the scapular, or shoved into the arms of the gown; how to eat; how to take up a glass; how to pass the dish of food; how not to lean on the elbows at table; how to pay attention; talk little; laugh less; confess daily. He had to sweep and dust and scrub, fetch wood and water, with sack on back go from door to door begging bread for the good of the order, and promising the kind givers a share in the prayers and good works of the friars and the blessing of the holy relics of St. Catherine in the cloister, for which

COURT OF THE CLOISTER AT ERFURT.



LUTHER'S CELL AT ERFURT.

regular legal bills of sale were made out by the prior, Wienand von Diedenhofen, a proper salesman of spiritual wares.

The monks let the new probationer feel the cloister did not grow rich by studying, but by begging, and one especially delighted in making him do the lowest menial work, such as cleaning the toilet, etc. Toward others they rather prided themselves on the fact that their latest recruit was a Master of Arts from the great University, and converted by lightning from heaven like St. Paul, as Father John Nathin told the wondering nuns of Muehlheim.

But a few months ago the university had honored their new Master Luther with a torchlight procession through the streets of Erfurt; now that same bright young Master went begging through the selfsame streets of Erfurt. The university felt disgraced and protested to Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the order, to put a stop to the scandal. The scandal was stopped by simply having the Master beg in the country districts.

Erasmus in like case became a quitter, but Luther was dead game, and never winced; he was really doing it for the good of his soul.

The Monk.

After the year of probation the novice in a white undergarment went to the chapel, where his monkish garb was blessed and donned. He placed his left hand upon his heart and his right into that of the prior and made oath: "I, Friar Martin Luther, make profession and promise obedience to God Almighty, and to holy Mary, ever virgin, and to Friar Prior Wienand . . . to live without property, in chastity, and after the rule of holy Father Augustine until death." Then he threw himself flat on the floor, and spread out his arms in the form of a cross. The prior sprinkled him with holy water, gave him a burning candle, and led him into the chancel. Here the new monk kneeled while his hair was

clipped and the tonsure* cut. The other monks stood around singing; the mournful hymns symbolized the death of the old man, and the joyful ones the birth of the new man. He arose and gave each friar the kiss of peace. They assured him he was now as pure as a child just baptized.

Arnold von Usingen, member of the cloister as well as famous university professor, told Luther it wasn't worth while to study the Bible, which was every heretic's book, and told

LIBRARY OF THE CLOISTER AT ERFURT.

him to study the schoolmen, that would do him good. But Luther found a Bible bound in red leather, and is never happier than when he can glide into a nook and hang over his book. In time he could tell the page on which any verse stood. He became the greatest master of the Bible of his age.

Poking and prying in the library, he came on sermons of Hus, which seemed quite sound,—"perhaps he wrote them before he became a damned heretic," — and he laid the book

* A bald spot on the top of the head.

aside, "wounded to the heart" at the dreadful company into which he had strayed.

An Augustinian light, named Zécharias, had conducted the argument against Hus and won the Pope's Golden Rose as a reward for his zeal and skill; he lay buried in Luther's convent, his effigy carved on the gravestone, on his gown the carved Golden Rose. Did those stony lips not preach, "Go thou and do likewise"?

"Had any one then taught what I now through God's grace believe and teach, I would have torn him with my teeth."

Made a Priest.

Friar Martin was a hard student, and in May, 1507, he was made a priest, for which great event his father was invited. On hearing his hopeful lawyer had turned monk, old Hans was plumb crazy with rage, but when two other sons died of the plague, and rumor reached him Martin was also taken off, the heart of the hard old man softened, and he came to hear his son's first mass. And he came in style — Luther sire and twenty of the Luther sib on horseback!

The hardy miner had no use for lazy monks, who masted themselves on the sweat of other men's brows, but this day he would do himself proud, and he made to Martin, that is, to the cloister, a donation of twenty gulden!

Anything small about that horny-handed son of toil? Not that we can see. He bore up bravely, and plainly wished to prove he wished to forgive and forget. Why did they not let well enough alone?

On occasion the silent miner could talk, and talk quite to the point. At the banquet Luther, Jr., tried to get Luther, Sr., to admit his wrong in opposing the entrance into the cloister by praising that life as a good, quiet thing. That put the father on his mettle, and he promptly fired back, "Have you never heard one is to obey parents?" The young priest was stunned into silence.

The monks tried to quiet their guest, but the sturdy old miner growled, "I've got to be here, eat and drink; would much liefer be away."

Quite Lutheresque!

When the son came to again and defended himself by saying he had been called to become a monk by a voice from heaven, the father rapidly rejoined, "God grant it wasn't a spook of the devil!"

Quite in the best manner of Martin at his best!

Seems Martin came by his repartee quite honestly. "They ought not to irritate the dog," wrote he later about his own vehemence. In his features, figure, and bearing he was the image of his mother.

Come to think of it, this old Hans is quite an interesting character: against a host of strange and learned clergymen this plain layman, with his back to the wall, appeals to a simple Scripture! And he feels himself the victor! There is no answer to his unanswerable question. Again: that voice of God from heaven — it might have been a spook of the devil! Horrors! Blasphemy in such a place on such an occasion! Certainly a case of private judgment.

Back to the mines for Hans; back to the books for Martin.

A Slave of Superstition.

Luther picked twenty-one saints, and daily prayed to three, and thus weekly made his rounds without slighting any; he scourged his body severely; he broke up his sleep during the night; he touched no food or drink for days at a stretch. The other monks held Luther a living saint, and, "It is true, I was a pious monk and kept the rules so strictly that I may say, If ever a monk got to heaven by his monkery, I, too, would have got there, as all monks knowing me will bear me witness; for, had it lasted longer, I should have killed myself with vigils, praying, reading, and other work."

And yet he wailed, "Oh! when will you be pious and do

enough that God will be merciful to you?" All in vain! "Not once, with all masses, prayers, chastity, did I succeed in being able to say, Now I am sure God is gracious to me, or, Now I have tried it and found that my order and my rigorous life has helped me on to heaven."

DR. JOHANN VON STAUPITZ.

Luther was in despair. He could not be saved by his good works. Why could he not be saved by faith in Christ?

"I did not know Christ other than a severe judge, from whom I would flee and could not flee. . . . I so hated Christ that, when I saw His picture as hanging on the cross, I feared it, and cast down my eyes, and had rather seen the devil. For my heart was all poisoned by this papistic teaching that I had soiled my baptismal gown, and lost Christ and Baptism, and now had to save myself."

This is the wretched pass to which Rome's false doctrine of salvation by good works brought the sincere soul of Luther; it drove him to despair and to the brink of hell. Being without Christ, he was without God and without hope.

No wonder the words of comfort spoken by a brother monk did not touch the sore spot and heal his wounded heart. The sincere soul of Luther in despair, — this is thy handiwork, O Rome!

The head of the German Augustinians, Dr. Johann von Staupitz, tried his best to comfort the despairing soul, but did not succeed; he gave relief, he made no cure.

Luther had been taught "the righteousness of God" is the perfect righteousness He demands from the sinner, and he knew that with the very utmost of his best efforts he did not reach up to that righteousness, and so he had to fear the wrath of an outraged Judge. This made him unhappy.

He had a change of scene, but not a change of heart when, in 1508, he was sent to Wittenberg University to lecture on the philosophy of Aristotle, which he heartily detested.

On March 9, 1509, he was made a Bachelor of the Bible, for which degree he did not pay the fee, — "because I had nothing."

In the fall he was sent back to Erfurt University to lecture on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard.

CHAPTER THREE.

A Trip to Rome.

The Augustinian monks were incorporated by Pope Innocent IV in 1243, and by 1450 were grown to two thousand chapters. Like all the rest, in time they became corrupt, and their Vicar for Germany, Proles, tried his best to reform them about 1474, and his successor, Staupitz, continued the effort for their reformation. Some of the cloisters objected to the ruling of their superiors, and sent Johann von Mecheln to Rome with an appeal, and with ten gulden to help along the appeal. Martin Luther was ordered to be the traveling companion, single file.

According to Boehmer, they set out from Erfurt in November of 1510. To trudge in winter is to drudge, especially if you must also fast, — and during Advent you must fast.

At Nuernberg Luther was interested in a clock that struck the hours; at Ulm he wondered at the bigness of the cathedral; in Switzerland he noted the mountains and valleys and meadows, and even strong men milking cows and making cheese. In Italy he admired the large grapes and peaches, and the olive-trees growing amid the very rocks. At Milan's famed cathedral he could not say mass, for the priests followed the liturgy of St. Ambrose, and denied the supremacy of the Pope, to the great surprise of the German visitor. He mentions Cremona, the town of violins, and he is astonished at the wide plains of Lombardy and the mighty falls of the Po. At Mantua he lodged in the abbey San Benedetto Po, with an income of 36,000 ducats, one-third spent on entertaining. He found the Italian fasts more sumptuous than the German feasts. Having rebuked some monks for breaking the fasting rules, he had to flee for his life, it is said. He mentions Bologna.

The yellow Arno flowing by famous Florence, home of

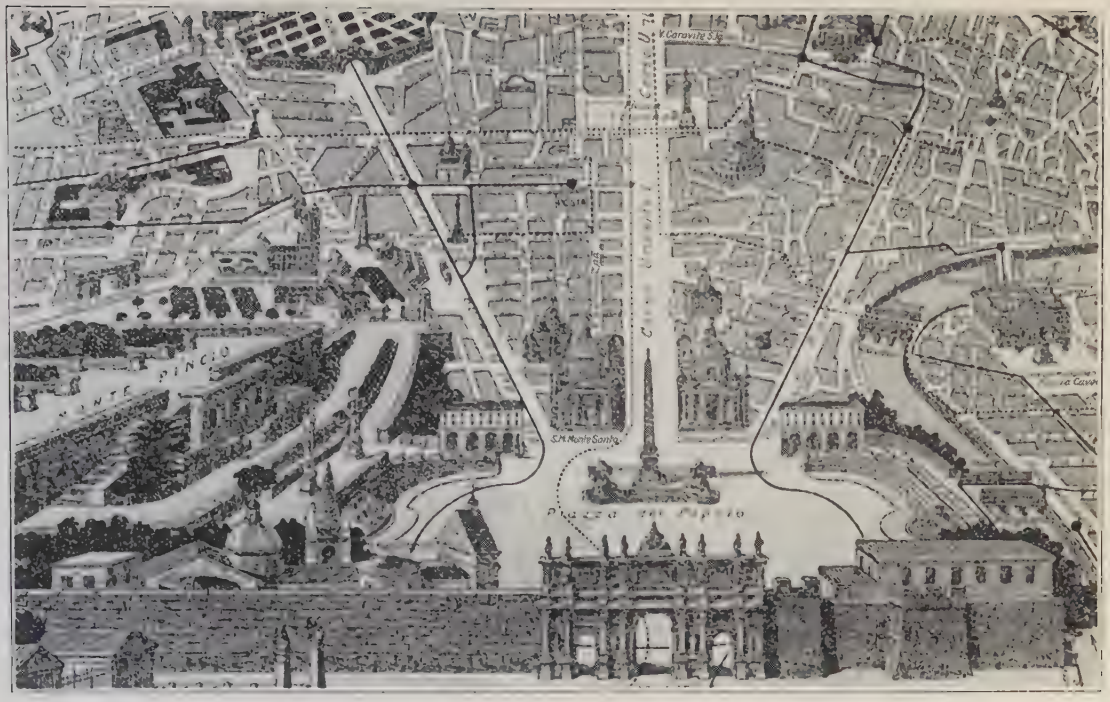
the elegant Medicis; Brunelleschi's marble cupola of the dome and Giotto's campanile and the doors of Ghiberti; the works of Donatello, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michael Angelo. The principal hospital was the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova, founded by Portinari, father of Dante's Beatrice, and Luther praises the skilful doctors, careful nurses, good kitchen, painted beds, and clean linen. Not far away the foundling hospital, Spedale degli Innocenti, over the portal the touching relief of the children by della Robbia. Luther is pleased to see the uniformed orphans marching through the streets. He lodged near the Porta San Gallo in the splendid Augustinian cloister, a donation of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

At Siena he heard of Kaiser Friedrich's saying, "Who knows not to dissimulate knows not to dominate." He found the Italians were not as hard drinkers as "the full, drunken Germans"; they ate less and dressed better; they were very polite, but their endless gesticulations struck him as funny, and he detested their treachery, and thought their dances very lewd, and the men extremely jealous of their wives, for they forced them to go veiled and speak to none in public. The Italians worshiped the saints as the old Romans worshiped the gods which brought them bad luck. They joked about God and the saints in a frightful manner, and their name for a fool was "a good Christian." And yet they thought themselves much above all other nations, especially the German.

The climate was treacherous: once Luther slept by an open window, and had such an attack of malaria that he was like to die; a few pomegranates cured him.

Holy Rome.

Where the Via Flaminia slopes to the Ponte Molle, the devout crusader gets his first glimpse of *Roma aeterna;* he falls on his knees and rapturously exults, "Hail, holy Rome!



AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER AND S MARIA DEL POPOLO TO THE LEFT OF PORTA DEL POPOLO.

S. MARIA DEL POPOLO AND AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER.

INTERIOR OF S. MARIA DEL POPOLO.

I salute thee, thrice holy through the blood of 110,000 martyrs shed there!" He ends his weary way of over forty days at the Porta del Popolo, where the victorious warrior Belisarius had stood blinded and begging his penny. Passing the gate, he sees the famous Piazza del Popolo; he turns left into the Augustinian cloister of over forty friars adjoining the notable church of Santa Maria del Popolo.

PORTA DEL POPOLO. AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER. BEHIND THE OBELISK IS THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA.

The very next day after Johann von Mecheln and Luther had arrived at Rome, they presented the petition for permission to appeal from the ruling of the rulers of the Order, which was promptly denied by the Procurator.

Nothing left to do but see the sights, Luther went to see the sights — in the rain; it rained every day bar six from the end of October till the beginning of February. In order to prepare himself properly for this good work, Luther made a general confession, although he had already

made two in Erfurt; but this third was the best, for it was in holy Rome. He came to priests that did not even know how to hear confession — in holy Rome! This was Luther's greatest grief in Rome. He said mass in Santa Maria del Popolo, at the foot of Monte Pincio.

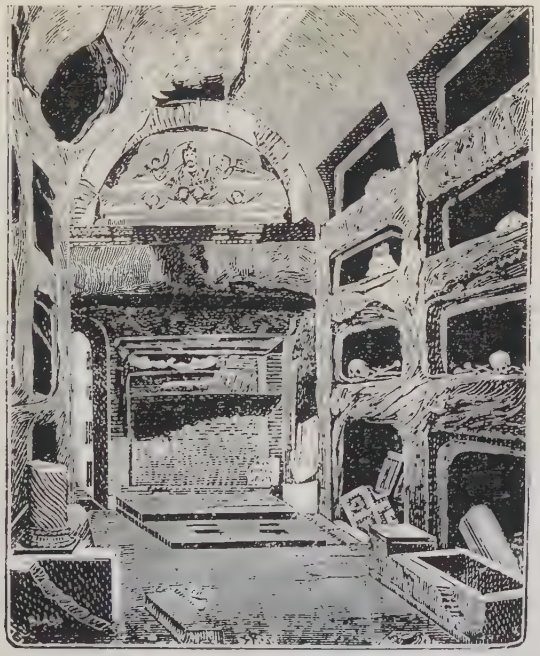
We rise quite early and have — no breakfast, if you please; holy things must be done fasting. We are off, per-

PYRAMID OF CESTIUS AND ST. PAUL'S GATE.

sonally conducted by a German Augustinian; such is the rule, though we are armed with a printed "Baedeker," the Mirabilia Urbis Romae. We cut across town, pass Paul's Gate, glance at the pyramid of Cestius, built before the days of Christ, tramp the Via Ostia to the magnificent Church of St. Paul, built by the Emperor Constantine, where Paul and Peter are buried, at least half of the body of each, and beyond the wall the bones of the three hundred Holy Innocents slain by King Herod at Bethlehem; we see the Crucifixus which had spoken to St. Bridget, and the pillar and

the chain with which Paul had been chained to the pillar. Wonderful! Not far away the "Three Fountains," where Paul was beheaded. His head touched the ground three times, and at each place a fountain gushed up; hence the name.

We rush on the old road delle sette Chiese to St. Sebas-



MANY POPES BURIED IN THE CATACOMBS OF CALIXTUS.

tian's Church on the famous Via Appia, trod by St. Paul coming to Rome, and view the grave of St. Sebastian and that of the woman of Samaria, the well in which the bodies of Paul and Peter had lain for five hundred years, and the stone with the footprint of Christ when Peter said, *"Quo vadis, Domine?" i. e.,* Whither art Thou going, Lord? In the catacombs of St. Calixtus we see the bones of 46 popes

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and 80,000 martyrs, and by walking through these caves five times during one mass we save a soul from purgatory; we can do the same blessed work more comfortably by a prayer at the high altar in the church.

Two monks grumble for getting only six ducats a year for taking care of the caverns, while the rest of the huge income goes into the pockets of the Pope, who certainly needed the money.

On January 21, all Rome and his wife visit St. Sebastian's, even "the grandest quantity of prostitutes," as Grossino wrote the noble lady Gonzaga in January, 1512. How lovely!

On to the Church of St. Lawrence with the graves of that saint and of St. Stephen, and the stone that killed the first martyr while Saul was consenting to his death.

Near by the catacombs and the Church of St. Agnes, on the Via Nomentana. The lambs of St. Agnes furnish the wool of which the nuns of St. Agnes make a ribbon called the pall, which the Pope blesses and then sells at a fancy figure; every new Archbishop of Mainz, for instance, has to pay 27,000 gulden for this bit of wool. No, we did not crack the feeble joke of pulling the wool over the people's eyes, although good old Catholic Max did growl the Pope's income was a hundred times greater than the Kaiser's.

We enter the southern section of the city. See the gleaming cross on St. John's Lateran? That cross was wrought from the sword that beheaded St. Paul. Within is the grave of the Apostle John; the table at which he said mass on Patmos; the coat with which he raised two dead; the cup from which he drank poison without harm; the shears that sheared his first tonsure; crumbs of the five barley loaves that fed the five thousand; some branches of the burning bush Moses saw in the wilderness; the Ark of the Covenant with the two stone tables with the Holy Ten Commandments; the rod with which Moses smote the rock to give water to the thirsting Israelites in the wilderness; the table of Christ's Last

Supper; the ointment bottle out of which Mary Magdalene anointed the body of our Lord; the hood of Joseph of Arimathea; a remnant of the Virgin's veil; the rod with which Christ was scourged; the knife for His circumcision, etc., etc.

In the Baptistry we see two columns of Mary's house in Nazareth; two alabaster pillars with leaden crosses that had served as torch-holders on the house of Pilate; the red stone trough in which the Emperor Constantine had planned to gather the blood of innocent children to cure his leprosy.

In the palace we see a door from Pilate's house through which Christ entered; on four columns stands the stone on which the thirty pieces of silver were counted out to Judas Iscariot for betraying our Savior; also the stone on which the soldiers divided among themselves the garments of Christ after His crucifixion. Under an arch the two oldest bells in the world.

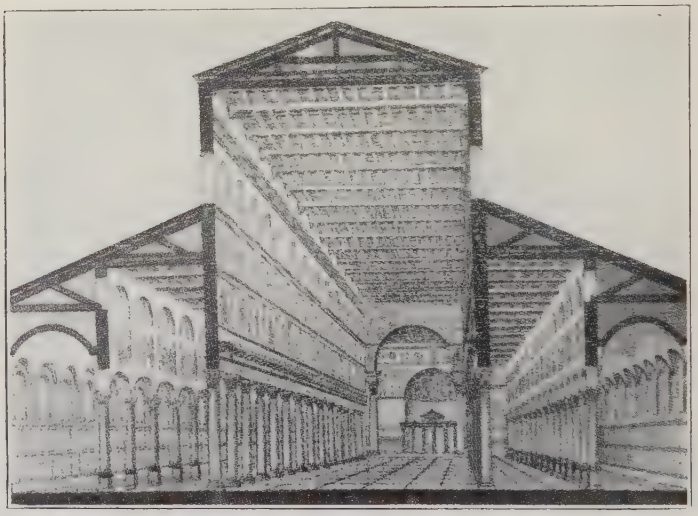
On to Holy Cross Church or Jerusalem, because of the pieces of the true cross of Christ Helena, mother of Constantine, had brought from Jerusalem; a piece of the cross of the penitent thief; the inscription on the cross; one of the nails of the cross; the sponge with which Christ was given drink on the cross; eleven thorns from His crown; the rope with which He was dragged to His passion; a sapphire with water and blood from His side; another with hair of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Here is the story the guide-book tells on Pope Sylvester II. When a poor boy, he made over his soul to the devil if made Pope, to be delivered when he read mass in Jerusalem, to be captured with the help of the Emperor Otto III. Forgetting Holy Cross Church is called Jerusalem, the Pope goes in to read mass, the devil nabs him and carries him off, all except the heart.

With Luther we now hasten into the middle of the town, to Santa Maria Maggiore with a grave of St. Matthew; some relics of the Virgin Mary and of St. Jerome; the jawbone of Zacharias; an arm of St. Luke; a famous picture

of the Virgin; the manger, the swaddling-clothes, and hay from the stable in which Christ was born at Bethlehem. The panels were decorated with the first gold brought from America.

We cross the Tiber to the Vatican Hill, once the property of Nero, where was the circus in which Peter was crucified head down, as they say. On a portion of this circus wall



INTERIOR OF OLD ST. PETER'S.

Emperor Constantine reared St. Peter's Cathedral, rebuilt since 1506.

Thirty-eight steps up to the vestibule, and seven years' indulgence for each step gone up with devotion.

Right at the entrance we see one of the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed Christ; one reverent look at the coin instantly brings you indulgences for no less than 14,000 years! Have a look! To the left is the chapel in which Peter said his first mass in Rome; just give it one good look, and you get indulgence for 7,000 years. In the

wall near the Golden Gate we see the stone rolled before Christ's grave. In the chapel to the left are the graves of Simon and Jude; from a column hangs the rope with which Judas hanged himself. Silver stars show the place in the wall behind which is the sanctuary of Saints Peter and Paul;

ST. VERONICA.

kiss these stars and get indulgences for 17,000 years! Above is the Holy Sacrament, turned into blood when Pope Gregory said mass. Next the brazen wash-dish in which Pilate washed his hands; fourteen columns from Solomon's Temple; the grave of Petronella, St. Peter's daughter; the altar with the other half of the body of Peter and of Paul.

In the Chapel of St. Martin we see the bronze statue of St. Peter "stretching out his foot to be kissed, and the one

kissing that foot has all the grace he would have for kissing the Pope's foot."

A stone with a groove as wide as two fingers — made by the tears Peter wept for denying Christ. We do not bat an eye.

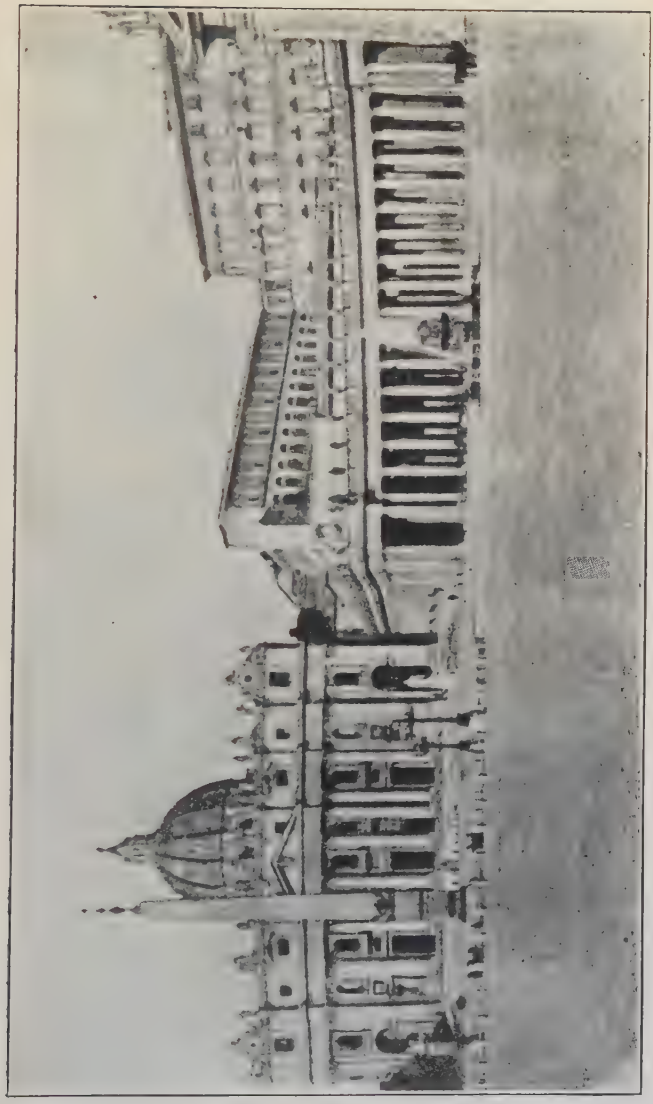
Here is the Veronica. What's that? When Christ was bearing His cross through the streets of Jerusalem, a kind-hearted woman wiped the sweat off His face and, lo and behold! His face was printed on the handkerchief; and this Veronica, which means true image, is right here and shown on a written permit of the Holy Father. How did it get there? The guide-book tells us. Emperor Tiberius had leprosy and sent messengers to Jesus for help, but Pilate had just crucified Jesus. Pilate was arrested and Saint Veronica was brought to Rome and cured Tiberius of his leprosy. We do not move a muscle and reverence the handkerchief, though all we can see is "a black board, with nothing on it." Hm!

That immense mansion over there? That is the Vatican, the Pope's house. Just now the mighty master Michelangelo is putting his wonderful paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, while the young genius Raphael, born in the same year as Luther, is painting himself immortal in the Stanza della Segnatura.

These four colossal columns, already arched? They are to bear the cupola of the new St. Peter's Church, on which Bramante is now at work for Pope Julius II. It will cost about $50,000,000. Ah! and oh! That is a lot of money: where does the Pope get it all? That is another story, which we shall hear anon.

At the end of our pilgrimage we receive the Holy Communion at St. Peter's, and then drink from the fountain "whose water flowed through the ground holding the bones of the saints." My, but that was a fine drink, holy and wholesome. We hurry home to our cloister, weary, but happy. —

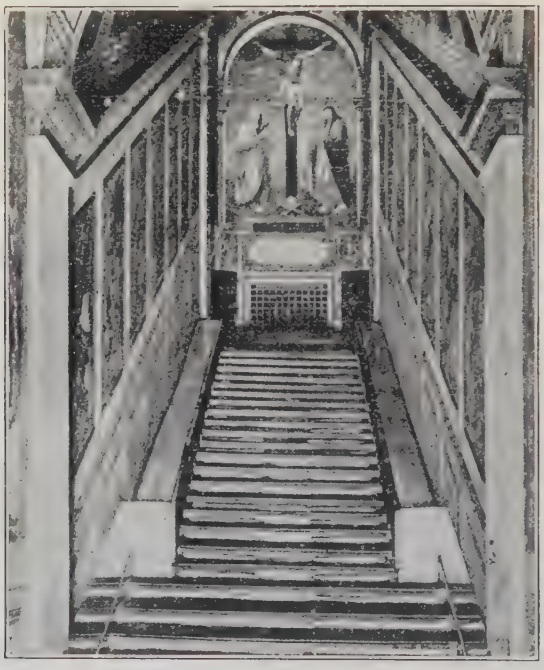
Surely, those old-timers were not so slow. That fast



ST. PETER'S CHURCH. THE VATICAN.

pace on a fast day would do credit to your hustling, sight-seeing globe trotter from U. S. A.

The oldest and greatest sanctuary in Christendom was St. John Lateran, of which Pope Boniface said, "Blessed is the woman giving birth to a child that will come to Rome



SCALA SANTA, PILATE'S STAIRCASE.

to this church," especially on a Saturday, "to say mass at the altar of Sancta Sanctorum to save a soul from purgatory." Luther came — too late; the crowd was so great he could not get near. So sorry; he walked away and ate a herring.

Did he admire the wonderful statue of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in front of the church? People thought it was the Emperor Constantine.

Here is the marble staircase from Pilate's house in Jerusalem. Jesus walked up these steps, and Luther crawled up on his knees. At every step he prayed the Lord's Prayer, and had nine years' indulgence for every step — Pope Leo IV said so. The step on which Jesus broke down is marked with a cross, and on this step Luther got a double indulgence, eighteen years. Twenty-eight steps to the top, and then his grandfather Heini was out of purgatory. O joy! Luther says he was sorry his parents were still living; for, don't you know, had they been dead, he could then and there have gotten them out of purgatory. Really, it is a pity some people do not know enough to die when it is good for their soul!

Paul Luther says his father thought of "The just shall live by faith" when crawling up the stairs, but Paul was only eleven when he heard it in 1544, and he wrote it down thirty-eight years later. If so, it was only a passing thought and made no change in Martin at that time.

Not far from his cloister is the Church of St. Silvestro in Capite, where the head of John Baptist is revered. Later Luther read in Theodoret the heathen had burned the body of John Baptist, and Luther is furious at having been led to reverence a fake.

He saw St. Mary's Church on the Ara Coeli, which had a picture of the Virgin painted by St. Luke; near by was another of her pictures by the same St. Luke in the San Francesca Romana at the Roman Forum; still another by the same diligent St. Luke in St. Augustine's Church, recently built by Cardinal d'Estoutville for Luther's order; still another by the same St. Luke in San Maria del Popolo, where Luther was living; still another, the most famous of all, the "Acheiropoiita," or "Made without hands," for Luke but sketched it, and the next morning it was finished. Wonderful? Not at all; angels had done it, that's all.

Luther saw St. Pancras on the Janiculus Hill, where "they showed the saint bodily and also martyrs without

number." Near by is S. Pietro in Montorio with the famous Tempietto by Bramante, erected by Ferdinand and Isabella in memory of the martyrdom of St. Peter in 1502.

Luther saw the Pantheon, passed the tomb of Augustus, saw the Tarpeian rock, the aqueduct of Claudius, roamed amid the ruins of the Colosseum and the baths of Diocletian, at the risk of his life, endangered by wolves and brigands.

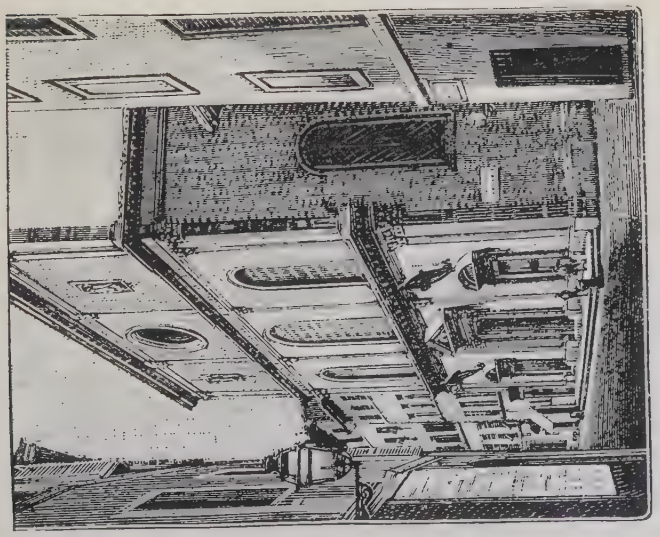
Naturally Luther was best pleased with the German church, Santa Maria dell' Anima, back of the Piazza Navona. The corner-stone was laid by Matth. Lang, the German Ambassador, on April 11, 1500. Bramante had something to do with the plans. The parson was Heinrich Bode, assisted by a half dozen German chaplains. About forty German and Dutch papal employees attended here, and it naturally became the meeting-place of all German and Dutch residents and visitors. What pleased Luther most was that here both clergy and worshipers were so much more reverent during service than in the Italian churches, where his serious soul was severely shocked by the levity of both. Levity! They rattled off seven masses to his one. No wonder, — they took money and he none. He heard of priests saying, "You are bread and you remain bread." They told him to hurry with his mass, "and return Mary's Son to her."

Returning from his rounds to the relics, Luther was tired, but happy. He certainly was one of the innocents abroad — "I believed all they told me." Honest, simple German Martin was what the Italians called "a good Christian," meaning a blooming fool.

Adjoining Luther's cloister was the Church of San Maria del Popolo. Here, long ago, was buried Nero, worst of Roman emperors; and here, not long ago, was buried Alexander VI, worst of Roman popes.

About this Alexander the monks told their German visitor some startling stories — cloister stories. They said, — well,

GERMAN HOSPICE.



S. MARIA DELL' ANIMA.
The German Church.

they said Pope Alexander was a circumcised Jew; who believed just about nothing; who committed incest with his own daughter Lucretia; who made Alexander Farnese a cardinal for the price of his sister, the *bella Julia;* who tried to poison Cardinal Hadrian for his much money, but by mistake took the poisoned confectionery himself and died in consequence. All Rome believed these tales, even Pope Julius II, who moved his abode to the upper rooms of the Vatican, not wishing to be reminded hourly of his predecessor, whom he called a "Marana," a circumcised Jew, and was angry when his word was doubted. A preacher publicly, in the presence of Pope Julius, denounced Pope Alexander as a monster of vice.

Luther mentions the Campo di Fiore, and so may have passed the most beautiful palace in Italy, now the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini, where lived Vanozza Cantanei, since 1460 the mistress of Pope Alexander VI, though married to three other men. She died on November 26, 1518, at the age of 76. Her tomb, with the names of the four children she bore to Alexander, was in the church of San Maria del Popolo. Alexander had three or five more children by other women, seven or nine children in all for the Holy Father, who married off his beautiful daughter Lucretia with great pomp publicly in the Vatican. When Savonarola denounced the vices of the Pope, he hanged and burned the preacher at Florence in 1498; on May 4, 1502, they burned Bernardino for the same "good" reason. On May 4, 1493, this Pope granted America to Spain. Though France and Genoa put up 300,000 ducats to elect Julius Rovere, Alexander bought the papal chair by enormous bribes. Infessura says with stinging irony, "Directly he became Pope, Alexander VI proceeded to give away all his goods to the poor" — to pay his election debts. Of this Pope a poet sang: —

"Rome was great under Caesar, greater far under Alexander:
The first was only mortal, but the latter is a god."

POPE ALEXANDER VI.
After Pintoricchio.

POPE JULIUS II.
After Hans Burgkmair.

When this "god" died, good Catholics said the devil had come to fetch his soul.

The monks told their German visitor about the present Pope, Julius II, that he rose at two and worked for himself till five or six, and then, as a thorough man of the world, engaged in such worldly matters as war, buildings, coinage; that he simply took to himself the great wealth of the late Cardinal Melchior of Meckau; that he was a grasping, greedy man. He paved his way to St. Peter's chair with an enormous amount of gold gulden. When in the chair, he sold offices and benefices.

The poet Mantovano publicly charged Pope Julius II with sodomy and pederasty, and Pope Leo XIII blessed the poet. The Catholic historian Prof. Dr. Ludwig Pastor admits Pope Julius II had a venereal disease and three illegitimate daughters.

In April, 1510, the Venetian Ambassador Domenico Trevisano reckoned the Pope's regular income at 200,000 ducats, his fees 150,000 more, about $5,000,000; that of the thirty-three cardinals at 18,000 ducats each; but some had much more. With all his costly wars, buildings, paintings, sculptures, Julius II left about 400,000 ducats.

Giovanni de Medici, when seven years old, was made an abbot; when seventeen, he was made a cardinal, and entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo. His father, Lorenzo, warned him against the wicked cardinals in the "very focus of all that was evil," who would "drag you down into the abyss into which they themselves have fallen."

He became Pope Leo X. "God has given up the papacy, let us enjoy it." He did, very much so. The Catholic Professor Pastor tells us his table expense was $18,400 per month. Evidently he needed some little loose change. He got it. When his own cardinals tried to murder him, and were found out, to save their necks they put money in his purse; Riario, for instance, alone paid the little nest-egg

POPE LEO X.

of 150,000 ducats. In order to have a majority, Leo simply made thirty-one cardinals, who showed their fine sense of the fitness of things by putting 500,000 ducats into the pockets of the Pope — when he wasn't looking.

In 1516, he stole the principality of Urbino from the rightful heir, and this little war cost him 700,000 ducats. The Pope needed money; he got it by selling indulgences, of which a little more a little later.

Rector Baudrillart of the Catholic Institute of Paris says: "Leo X permitted the printing of Tacitus, just then recovered, and wrote enthusiastically, 'Great authors are the rule of life and the consolation of sorrow!' He had neither the habits nor the inclination of an ecclesiastic. We are astonished and troubled by the account of certain feasts and certain comedies played in his presence, as well as by the coarseness of some of his amusements."

What had been said to Pope Boniface VIII was repeated to Leo X: "You slipped in like a fox, you ruled like a lion, you died like a dog."

Sannazzaro celebrated his patron —

"Without the Church's Sacraments Pope Leo died, I'm told;
What wonder? How could he enjoy what he himself had sold?"

Rome was a city of the dead and also a dead city, very much smaller than in 1527, when it had only 9,285 houses. Pope Julius II was at war far north in the Romagna, and everybody that was anybody, of course, had followed him; only two cardinals were in town, one lying on his death-bed, the other lying in prison.

Morally Rome was rotten. The census of 1517 counted more prostitutes than respectable women. The Spanish priest Francesco Delicado says in 1524 there were 30,000 prostitutes and 9,000 panderers. When Luther was there, Rome's most famous lady was Imperia de Cugnatis, in a sumptuously furnished palace in the aristocratic district, at the St. Angelo Bridge. Her guests were bankers, ambassadors, poets, artists, the Pope's librarian, the Cardinals Cornaro, Gonzaga, Sadoleto. Would you like to see her picture? You can see it in the Pope's Vatican, in the Stanza della Segnatura, the Calliope by Raphael. She died August 15, 1512, thirty-one

years old, and was buried as a noble matron in St. Gregory's Church, and the inscription on her tomb told you she was worthy of the great name of a Roman.

Certain cardinals were regarded as living saints because they were merely fornicators, and did not practise unnatural vices, as many did. The dissolute monk Lippo Lippi painted his mistress Lucretia Buti as the Virgin Mary to be revered and adored by devout Catholics, says Prof. Pastor, V, pp. 196. 197.

Most of the twenty Benedictine convents were wholly, or almost wholly, deserted. Cardinal Contarini curtly calls the cloisters houses of ill fame, and the Council of Trent closed most of them.

Very many priests could not even read, much less say mass. Only the begging friars would preach — during Advent and Lent.

Vices were acknowledged without shame, and men even gloried in their shame.

Admiral Philip of Burgundy was in Rome in the spring of 1509 and says: "The heathen are chaster and purer than these men who lay down the laws of religion to the Christian nations." When the relics of St. Peter were shown at Easter, he heard "the chief cardinals" crack the most indecent jokes.

Erasmus was at Rome about this time and says: "I have with mine own ears heard the most horrible blasphemies of Christ and His Apostles"; priests of the papal court during mass were guilty of this.

The Catholic Professor Pastor says: "It is a mistake to suppose that the corruption of the clergy was worse in Rome than elsewhere. . . . In many places matters were far worse than in Rome." (V, pp. 171. 172.)

Good Catholics like Michelangelo, Wimpfeling, Tizio Senese, and others handed these bouquets to Rome, "The mother and nurse of all vices, the slaughter-house of virtue, the dive of lust, the dump of filth," etc. Cardinal Bembo

said, "Quit Rome if you would be holy! Here everything is allowed; it is not allowed to be decent." A common saying was, "If there is a hell, Rome is built on it."

St. Catherine told Pope Gregory XI that at the Papal Court, which ought to have been a paradise of virtue, her nostrils were assailed by the odors of hell, says the Catholic Prof. Pastor (I, p. 107).

Men said generally that things could not go on like this, that a break must come.

The breaker left Rome about the end of January, 1511.

The yellow Tiber was crossed on the Milvian Bridge, where Constantine saw the flaming cross with the words, "In this sign you will conquer," and then in bloody battle conquered the forces of paganism, and then became the first Christian emperor. Like a better Constantine, Luther was to see the cross of Christ, and by that Gospel overcome the paganism in the Roman Church. Over this bridge Caesar and his legions marched to conquer the Germans; over this bridge marched the Germans and destroyed Old Rome; over this bridge the papal Romans marched to enslave the German Church; over this bridge now marched a German Romanist who was to strike a smashing blow at the Roman Antichrist, and free the German Church, and all others that would be free, for all time to come.

Of old the Saxon leader Hermann destroyed the Roman legions, and Augustus wailed, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" Anew the Saxon leader Luther was to destroy the minions of Rome, and still the Pope is wailing for the fair provinces lost to the Protestants. Far worse than Hannibal and Alaric and Genseric was to be this pale and pious pilgrim.

CHAPTER FOUR.

Luther's Conversion.

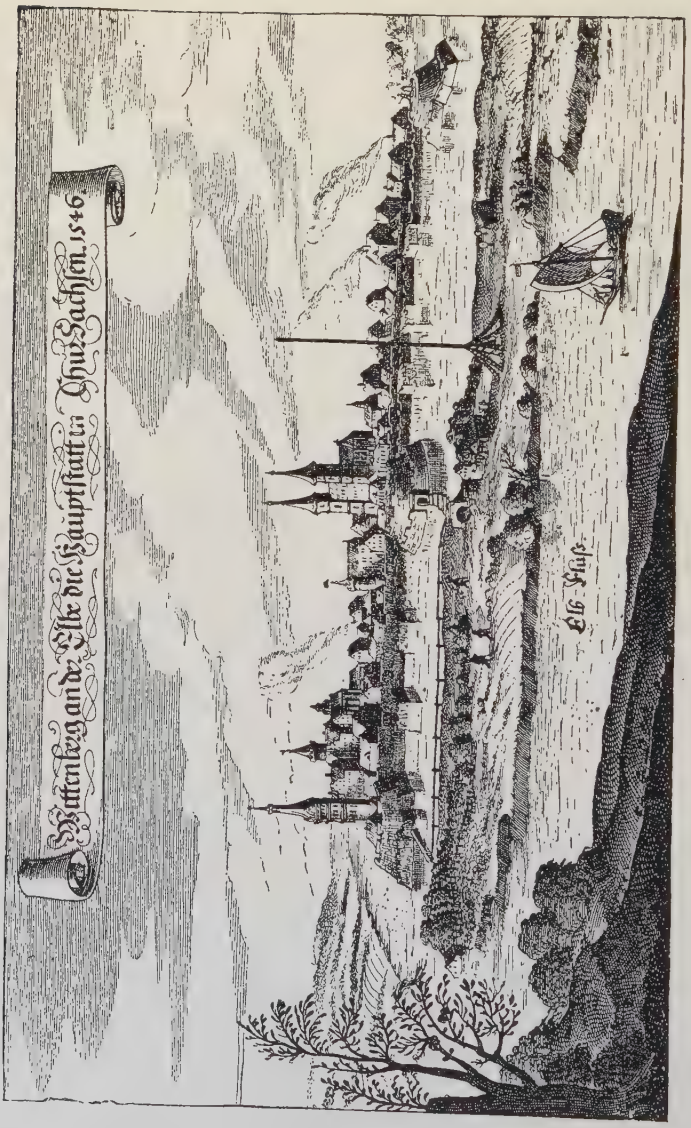
"Small, old, ugly, low, wooden cottages; more like an old dorp than a city," in a flat, dreary, sandy, and stony waste — that is Wittenberg as seen by Myconius; in 1513 it had but 3,000 people and 356 taxed houses. The pigs, cows, and geese were given the freedom of the city, and there were no sidewalks to the unpaved streets. Enough said; let us leave something to the imagination.

Though the famed universities of Erfurt and Leipzig were not far away, the Elector Frederick, in 1502, founded another at Wittenberg. It opened with an attendance of 416; by 1505 it had dwindled to 55. Something had to be done about it. What? They advertised, of course. Here is the prospectus for 1507: —

"Those who are eager for knowledge should come to Wittenberg. The air is excellent, the plague is entirely past, a living is cheap, costing only eight gulden a year. There one can learn not only science, but also the best manners. The university, moreover, has received from pope and emperor all the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the most ancient schools, and one may be assured that not even Padua or Bologna, the mother of them all, possesses a greater number of learned men."

Wittenberg was to become an ideal university, if President Garfield's idea of a university is correct — a log with Mark Hopkins at one end and himself at the other. In other words, a university does not consist of palatial buildings and broad athletic fields on Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, but of men; and men were certainly coming to Wittenberg.

The greatest theologian of all times since the days of Paul came when Luther was sent there in 1508, and the



Castle. City Church. University.

WITTENBERG.

great Humanist, Philip Melanchthon, "The Preceptor of Germany," followed in 1518 — two stars of the first magnitude sparkling with undimmed brilliancy unto this present.

Luther found the people "unfriendly, impolite, without sense for finer and higher culture," and he was surprised a university should be founded "at the edge of civilization."

The pale, hollow-cheeked, and hollow-eyed monk seems to have been ignored on his coming; he writes of the "cold, high-minded north wind of the Wittenberg learned world." Yet he was to enlarge the attendance twentyfold, and place the dead dorp on the map, and make Wittenberg one of the most famous cities in all the world in sacred history and in secular history.

As Christ grew up as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground, and had no form nor comeliness (Is. 53, 2), so the Gospel of Christ again grew up as a root out of a dry ground. The historian Green says: "The little town had suddenly become the sacred city of the Reformation"; and the Catholic Bishop Jerome Scultetus, of Brandenburg, says: "From Wittenberg, as heretofore from Jerusalem, the light of Gospel-truth had spread to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Not yet, but soon.

Young Professor Luther had to lecture on the philosophy of Aristotle, but he heartily detested to thresh the dry straw of the mighty man of Stagira, for he was in love with theology.

On March 9, 1509, he was made a Bachelor of the Bible, for which degree he did not pay the usual fee — "because I had nothing."

On the 17th he wrote Braun at Eisenach he loved theology, "that theology, mind you, which is the kernel of the nut, the core of the wheat, the marrow of the bone."

This is the first robin! The ring is Lutheresque. To be sure, one swallow does not make a summer.

At seven o'clock in the morning of October 19, 1512, all the bells of Wittenberg are joyfully ringing, and a festival procession of great pomp is marching through the decorated streets. What's the matter? Why, don't you know? Martin Luther is to get his degree of Doctor of Theology! And just think, he is not yet thirty! Who paid the expense of fifty gulden and also the gold Doctor's ring? The Elector.

Staupitz had told the great lord he would have a unique doctor in this professor.

Staupitz had to use his authority as Superior to force and drive the modest and humble Luther to the greatest honor of the academic career, which was usually conferred upon scholars fifty years of age.

"When I was made Doctor, I did not yet know the light."

Mindful of his sworn duty, Luther at once lectured on the Bible — a novel thing. Learned professors thought it beneath them to lecture on the Bible; only beginners had to do so for a year, and many got out of that. Carlstadt had been a teacher of theology for eight long years before he began to read the Bible, and then only through the influence of Luther.

The first Rector of the University, Martin Pollich von Mellerstadt, esteemed one of the greatest lights of the world, visited Luther's lectures, and was struck by his eyes and ideas, and said that young monk would revolutionize the method of teaching, for he stood on the Word of Jesus Christ, which no philosophers could overthrow. And he heartened Luther, "Let doctors be doctors; never mind what the Church says, but what Christ says." And old Trutvetter had already said in matters of conscience the Bible is supreme. And William of Occam had taught even popes and councils could err.

From 1514 we have the earliest testimony to Luther:

Spalatin writes Lang of his rare combination of the keenest judgment with great learning and purity of character — and he "consulted him like an Apollo."

That Luther was already a man of mark is seen from the anger of Erfurt at Luther's transfer to Wittenberg; it is only for men of light and leading that universities contend. To John Nathin, who had bitterly attacked him in a pamphlet, Luther writes: "So marvelously has God shed His blessing upon my unworthy self that I have cause only for gladness and love and works of charity. Me it becomes to do good to those who deserve ill at my hands, for I, having deserved ill at the Lord's hands, have received good.

"Therefore I pray you be content, and lay aside all bitterness, if any there be, on the subject of my transference to Wittenberg, for so the Lord, who cannot be resisted, has willed."

When Professor Luther lectured on the Psalms in 1513, he already often quoted Romans, and in 1515 he lectured on this letter, and in 1516 on Galatians.

Though a bitter enemy, Jan Oldekop writes: "I was twenty-one years old then, and liked to hear Martin's lectures on the Psalms and Paul's letters. I also went to all his sermons. The students heard him gladly, because he gave all the Latin words so well in German."

Luther says: "With a burning desire to understand Paul, I took up the Epistle to the Romans. But in the very first chapter there opposed me the word: 'The righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel.' (Rom. 1, 16. 17.) You see I hated the word, 'the righteousness of God,' for, owing to the teaching of my former professors, I held it that attribute of holy God according to which He punishes the sinners. Though I lived a blameless monk, my restless conscience nevertheless told me I was a sinner before God. And for that reason I hated a righteous God punishing sinners. I rebelled against God. . . . My conscience was wounded, I gnashed inwardly, and yet ever came back to

that verse, for I would by all means get the sense of Paul. At last, thinking over the matter for days and nights, God showed me mercy and the connection of these words with the sentence following: 'The just shall live by faith.' I began to understand the righteousness of God here is the one a pious man receives from God by faith as a gift. I saw the meaning of the verse to be: 'Through the Gospel is revealed that righteousness of God by which the merciful God declares the believers righteous.' For that is the sense given it by the words following: 'The one justified by faith shall live.' Now I felt myself new-born and in Paradise. All the Holy Scripture looked different to me. And now I ran through it and sought similar expressions to confirm by them my understanding of the words, 'righteousness of God.' Ere this these words to me were hateful, now I embraced them with the intensest love. This passage in Paul appeared to me as the gate of Paradise."

Now he wrote George Spenlein: "Thou, Lord Jesus, art my Righteousness; I am Thy sin. Thou didst take mine and give me Thine. Thou tookest what Thou wast not, and gavest me what I was not. . . . As He took you upon Him and made your sins His own, so He made His righteousness your own. If you firmly believe this . . ., then do you, in like manner, take upon you erring brethren. Patiently bear with them; make their sins your own; and if you have any good, let it be theirs. Thus teaches the apostle: 'Bear ye one another's burdens, as Christ also bore you to the honor of God.' He will teach you all things; only look you well to what He has done for you and for all, in order that you may learn what you ought to do for others."

After the convulsions of the earthquake, peace, perfect peace; after the tornado the sun lay smiling on the placid water. Christ had said, "Peace, be still!" and there was a great calm. The night was past, the day was at hand. "Behold, I make all things new." Christ was no longer

the terrible Judge, with flaming eyes riding the rainbow; now He was the gracious Savior, lovingly fulfilling the Law in our stead and dying as our Substitute and washing us clean from all sins with His blood. As in a dissolving view the terrifying Judge came out as the merciful Savior.

The *Miserere* out of the deeps gave way to the Hallelujah Chorus; he was in the seventh heaven, and his tuneful soul poured forth songs of lyric joy.

Religion is comfort for sin-sorrow, and this is exactly what Luther found in Rom. 1, 16. 17. Here is the psychography of Luther. This is the incorruptible seed whereby he was born again a child of God. (1 Pet. 1, 23.) Here is the Jabbok where he wrestled with God, and where God made him a Prince of God; here is his Peniel; "for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved"; here is his Bethel, the house of God, the gate of heaven; here is the Bethlehem where Christ was reborn in the soul of Luther — "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." (Gal. 2, 20.) Justified by faith, Luther had peace with God, and rejoiced in hope of the glory of God, and glorified in tribulations, just like St. Paul in Rom. 5, 1—3. Here in Rom. 1, 16. 17 Luther found his Holy of Holies to worship, and also his Mighty Fortress to stand with adamantine fortitude amid an earthquake that rocked Europe to its base.

Let it be clearly understood that in Rom. 1, 16. 17 is the conversion of Luther, the turning-point in the history of Luther, in the history of the Church, in the history of the world; for "Luther is the Reformation," as Harnack has said and Lord Morley repeated.

Let it be clearly understood that this Justification by Faith is the essence of Christianity. This Gospel of Christ is the dynamite of God unto salvation to every one that be-

lieveth. It was the dynamite of God in the soul of Luther, and Luther was the dynamite of God in the soul of Europe and the whole modern world; it caused the reformation in Luther, and it caused the Reformation by Luther. Rom. 1, 16. 17 is the Pharos tower, the beacon light, to guide storm-tossed mariners into the haven of rest for their souls. This is the leaven that leavened the whole lump. This is the ax that was laid to the root of the upas-tree of popedom with all its deadly fruits, and this was the mustard seed that grew into the large tree, in whose branches the birds find shelter. This is the ram's horn that razed the walls of Jericho, and this is the trowel that raised the walls of the New Jerusalem. This is the torpedo that blew up the ecclesiastical ship of popedom. This is the scourge with which he drove out the money-changers, and made the den of thieves the house of prayer. This is the everlasting Gospel with which the angel of God flew through the world to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. (Rev. 14, 6. 7.) With this Gospel the Spirit breathed upon the valley of dead bones, and the breath came upon them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army. (Ezek. 37, 1—14.) This is the great divide, the watershed, from which the waters flow into the night of Romanism or into the day of Protestantism. This is the real Armageddon, the field of battle between Christ and Antichrist. (Rev. 16, 16.) Luther said: "In this article we can make no concession or compromise, though heaven and earth and all else sink into ruins. . . . On this article depends all we teach and do against the pope, the devil, and the world." Again: "If but this one article in its purity holds the field, the Christian Church also will remain pure, peaceful, and without sects; but if this does not remain pure, it is impossible to resist any error or sectarian spirit."

The papists gathered at the Council of Trent to combat Luther agreed with him that this was the vital point. "All

the errors of Martin are resolved into that point — Justification — from whence he hath denied efficacy of Sacraments, authority of priests, purgatory, sacrifice of the Mass, and all other remedies for remission of sins. Therefore, by a contrary way, he that will establish the body of the Catholic doctrine must overthrow the heresy of justification by faith only."

In Romans, Luther rediscovered Paul and the Christianity of Christ. All Protestants know this, and it is confirmed by the Catholic Prof. Franz Berg of Wuerzburg, who says Luther's teaching of justification by faith is the same as Paul's, both a product of superstition.

Luther preached Justification; this is the one thing he did; this truth he dinned into the ears of Europe in season and out of season. Heinrich Heine, the Jew, jokes about it; Swedenborg in one of his trips into heaven found Luther, three hundred years after his death, bringing up every morning exactly the same arguments by which he had enforced his one doctrine when on earth. That would-be sneer shows clearly the absolute importance of the doctrine. Through this doctrine Luther had come up from the lowest hell of misery to the highest heaven of peace and joy.

Having found the clue to the maze, he freed himself out of the labyrinth; having gotten the focus, he saw everything clearly in the true perspective; having found the compass, he sailed the seven seas of God's truth; having found the master-key, he unlocked all the treasures of God's grace. Like Abraham, Luther was blessed, and he became a blessing to others. Now streams of living water gushed out of him to water the desert, and turn it into a lovely and fruitful garden.

"This epistle is the kernel of the New Testament and the clearest of all Gospels, worthy and worth that a Christian man should not only know the words by heart, but should converse with them always as the soul's daily bread.

It can never be too much read nor pondered, but the more it is used, the more precious it becomes."

Hausrath says Romans is "the most remarkable document of man's spiritual life. The deepest-minded of all New Testament hieroglyphics again found an interpreter who understood it. It began to live again in the minds, and from thence to shake all churches of Europe, and to topple over their institutions. Luther spoke the mysterious words, 'By faith alone,' this spell which made the poor rich and the rich poor."

Gladstone says: Justification "for Luther was the note and test of life or death. . . . There came upon Christendom, initiated by the bravery of Luther, a powerful impulse, which passed into a mighty struggle . . .; but it resulted in a new state of things."

The new life in the heart of Luther soon showed itself in many directions.

When the great scholar Reuchlin was in danger of his life from the bloodthirsty Hoogstraten and other Dominicans, Luther in a letter boldly broke a lance for the great Hebraist, when many liberals feared to give an opinion for fear of giving offense and for fear of the consequences.

In 1515, appeared the famous "Letters of Obscure Men," which mercilessly scourged the ignorance and vices of the clergy with brilliant wit and biting satire. Luther was not altogether pleased with the spirit of his friend Crotus Rubeanus; where the Humanists had sneers and jeers, he had tears.

In the same year he was appointed preacher at the triennial convent of his order at Gotha. He did not choose some learned subject, but denounced the vice of slander so common among the monks. The sermon attracted wide attention, and gained the favorable notice of the famous Humanist Rufus Mutianus. At this time Luther was honored by being elected vicar of the eleven cloisters of his district.

He at once introduced the study of the Bible amongst the monks to displace the senseless fables about the saints in fashion till then. "Unless you labor and pray to spread among the people a holy fear for the Gospel, your time and labor is lost." As professor, as preacher, as vicar he stressed the Bible; in it he lived, and moved, and had his being. "What the pasture is to the herd, a house to man, a nest to the bird, a rock to the chamois, a stream to the fish, that the Bible is to the faithful souls."

When George Maskov, head of the cloister at Leitzkau, had to make a speech, and asked Luther to write it, he did so, and laid down his thoughts about the needed reform in church matters. First, God's Word is to be studied day and night in place of man's word, which has flooded the world; secondly, stricter morals of the clergy are needed, which will come as a result of the study of the Scripture in place of fables and legends. This was written about 1515.

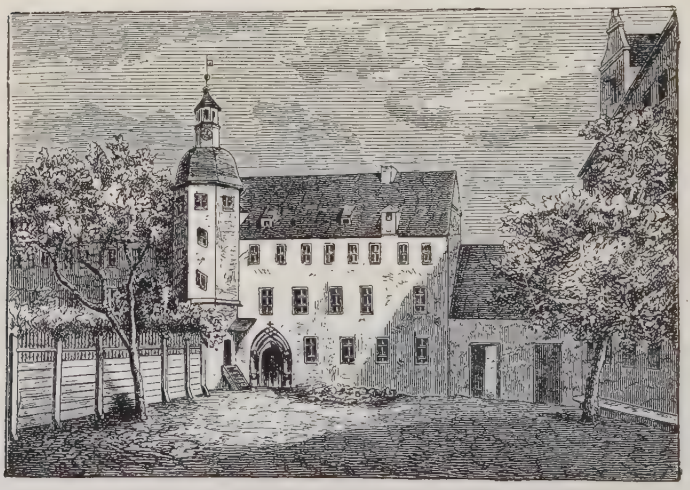
On October 26, 1516, he writes Lang at Erfurt: "I begin to-morrow to lecture on Galatians, though I fear the plague will not allow me to finish the course. The plague takes off two or at most three in one day, and that not every day. . . . You would persuade me to flee to you; but shall I flee? I hope the world will not come to an end when Brother Martin dies. I shall send the brothers away if the plague gets worse; I am stationed here and may not flee because of my vow of obedience, until the same authority which now commands me to stay shall command me to go. Not that I do not fear the plague (for I am not the Apostle Paul, but only a lecturer on him), but I hope the Lord will deliver me from my fear."

Faithful, though fearful, at the post of duty, like the Roman soldier at Pompeii, who saw the stream of fiery lava from Vesuvius coming on to overwhelm him, and yet stood faithful unto death, because he had been put there and had not been called away.

Luther Enthrones the Gospel in Pulpit and University.

Working hard, without proper care, Luther ruined his health. Once friends rapped at his door and received no reply. They broke in and found him stretched out on the floor unconscious; soft music revived him.

As early as 1516, Luther saw the deadly error of Erasmus, who gave to man's power a part in conversion, and on



THE AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER.

Called the Black Cloister, because the Augustinian garb was black. It was built of red brick. Luther lived on the second floor, to the left of the tower.

October 19th he asked Spalatin to inform the prince of scholars of Luther's correct understanding of Paul's Epistles.

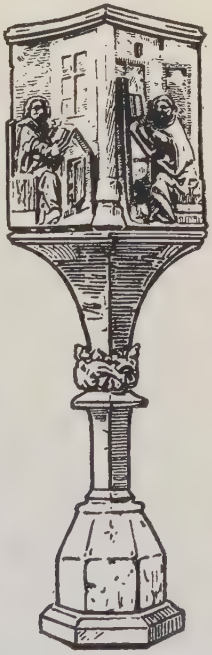
Staupitz took Luther under a pear-tree and told him to take his turn at preaching. Luther trembled at the very thought of entering the pulpit, and gave fifteen reasons for refusing. The Superior simply gave orders.

"Your Honor will kill me; I'll not last a quarter of a year!"

"In God's name! Our Lord has big business above, and can use able men."

"No one believes how frightened one is the first time he enters the pulpit. He sees so many heads before him. Oh, how I feared the pulpit! Still I had to go in. They forced me to preach to the monks."

ST. MARY'S OR CITY CHURCH.



PULPIT IN THE CITY CHURCH.

Such was the beginning of one of the world's mightiest masters of the pulpit!

The chapel was a rickety frame shack, 20×30, with a low pulpit of undressed boards.

During the illness of the pastor of St. Mary's, or the City Church, the city elected Luther to fill the pulpit, and

ELECTOR FREDERICK THE WISE.
After Duerer.

he often preached daily, and even three and four times a day, and soon that became his happiest hour. Later on colleagues like Jerome Schurf, Spalatin with his princely pupils, Duke John, and the Elector Frederick were among his hearers: Frederick heard him in 1512.

Duke George of Saxony, he with the beard, asked his friend Staupitz to send a preacher worth hearing. Nothing

easier in the world; he sent Martin, his man of men. On a July Sunday he preached to the Court at Dresden on salvation by faith, without works.

At dinner the Duke asked Barbara von der Sahla her opinion of the sermon. She was enthusiastic; she wished she could again enjoy such sweet discoveries of the infinite and unbought graciousness of God; on such Gospel she would pillow her soul in death.

The bearded Duke was much surprised and did not agree with her; no, not at all. Such preaching would unsolder the framework of morals, and be the death of good works. He was deeply exercised in his mind, and for his part, he wished he had not heard it. And from that time he was the bitter and able enemy of Martin. The courtiers agreed with the Duke, of course; especially Jerome Emser.

Who was to blame? Who?

It is whispered when he came to die, the grim old papist George let go all popery, and pillowed his soul on the grace of God he had heard of on that Sunday in July from Monk Martin.

The Elector Frederick built a castle and, joining it, a church, which was graced by altar paintings from Albrecht Duerer and Lucas Cranach. Begun in 1493, it was dedicated in 1499, on November 1, All Saints' Day, and its right name was All Saints' Church. And rightly so, for on his trip to the Holy Land in 1493 and elsewhere the pious prince had by 1505 gathered 5,005 relics of the saints and placed them in this church. Of course, these spiritual treasures had cost him great earthly treasures, and he had a proper pride in his holy collection. As late as 1516 Staupitz had gone as far as Antwerp to increase the miracle-working hoard. As early as 1516 Luther would have the Elector know in spiritual things he was "wrapped in almost sevenfold blindness."

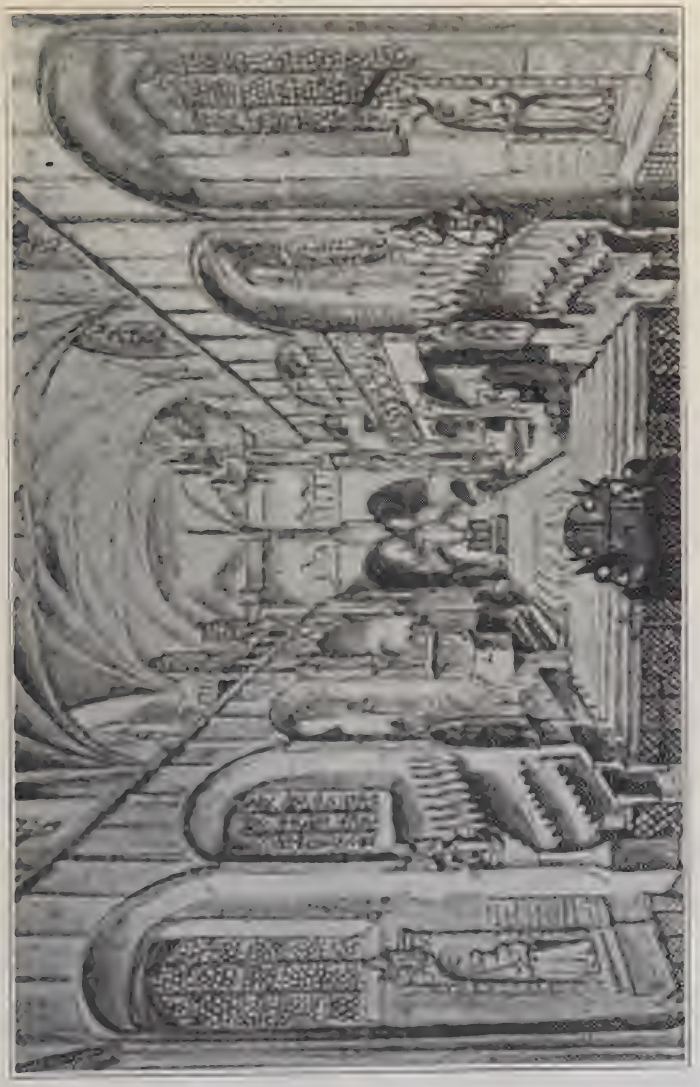
Here you could see the girdle of St. Paul; a link of

Peter's chain and a piece of his staff; a piece of the sponge with which Christ on the cross was given drink; pieces of the scourges with which He had been scourged; nails which had pierced His hands and feet; *et cetera, et cetera.* If you worshiped all these relics, you would get an indulgence for your sins in purgatory for 1,443 years! On All Saints'

CHURCH AND CASTLE AT WITTENBERG.

Day, November 1, thousands streamed to worship these relics and get a reduction of their pains in purgatory.

On October 31, 1516, Luther preached against the abuse of these indulgences and thereby greatly offended the Elector. From the same pulpit of the Castle Church he again, on another festival, in February, 1517, did the same thing. "When it is evening, the pilgrims to this or that shrine, or to the celebration of this or that saint's day, return home with full indulgence; that is, full of beer and wine, full of unchastity and other horrid vices. . . . Indulgence is



THE CASTLE CHURCH.
Before the Fire.

impurity and permission to sin, and license to avoid the cross of Christ."

Remember it is an honored professor of theology at a Catholic university who is preaching this in a Catholic church to a Catholic congregation.

When Frederick would make Staupitz a bishop, in 1516, Luther objected to tempting him "to carouse and practise the vices of Sodom and Rome." Staupitz was not made a bishop. When Staupitz fell into disfavor the next year, the same Luther pleaded for the same Staupitz at the same court. Also, the monk reminded the Elector of a promised gown, and he wanted the gown and not promises. Also, he warned the Elector not to place a heavier tax on the people. "God ordains it so that at times a great mind may be directed by a lesser one, so that no one may trust himself, but only God, our Lord."

The penniless peasant monk talks to princes in the accents of a king, and the prince neither murmurs nor mutters!

The first fruits of Luther's new faith and life was his *Explanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms,* 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143, printed in April, 1517, in German for the use of the plain people. In this work Luther shows, I. The Soul's Death and Hell; II. The Soul's Victory over Death and Hell; III. The Soul's Life after the Victory.

A second edition was called for before the first was finished.

In a disputation of September 4, 1517, Luther enthroned Christ and dethroned Aristotle in the realm of religion; the whole pagan theology was to be swept out of the Church. The two-edged sword also smote the paganism of the Humanists.

The theses of this disputation were printed and spread, and they caused considerable comment, complimentary and uncomplimentary.

Christopher Scheurl wrote a great change in theological studies was in sight, and soon it would be possible to become a theologian without either Aristotle or Plato.

As Luther dethroned Aristotle in the realm of revealed religion, so Lord Bacon learned from Luther to dethrone Aristotle in the realm of natural science.

In his Greek Grammar of 1518 Melanchthon also denounced the reigning studies as a garrulous dialectic and vapid, fraud-engendering strife. Even before this Pope Pius II had told the University of Vienna, "All your studies are beggarly and empty quibbles." The French Catholic Nisard pungently styles the learning of that day "an amalgam of the corrupted tradition of Aristotle with the no less corrupted tradition of Christianity." The author of the *History of the Council of Trent* tells us: "If it had not been for Aristotle, the Church had wanted for many articles of faith."

Yes, Luther was right in hating Aristotle, "the damned pagan," with a perfect hatred.

Erfurt, and Leipzig, and even Luther's own colleagues at Wittenberg were angered by this attack on Aristotle, but Carlstadt, and Amsdorf, and Schurf came over to him. Anon he could write: "By the grace of God our theology rules at our university; Aristotle is gradually sinking and tottering to his fall, perhaps forever. No one can hope for hearers if he will not lecture on the Bible or on St. Augustine."

CHAPTER FIVE.

The Ninety-five Theses.

Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, a prince of Hohenzollern, and so related to the present Kaiser, had himself elected Archbishop of Magdeburg in 1513. In order to enter upon his office, he had to get the Pope's pallium, a strip of lamb's wool three fingers wide with crosses, for which a big sum had to be paid the Pope. Now Albrecht was only twenty-three, and the legal age was thirty! The papal permit was purchased.

In the same year Albrecht had himself made administrator of Halberstadt, though it was against the law for one man to have two such offices. They say it took 1,079 ducats to make the Pope wink at the wrong.

The next year Albrecht had himself elected Archbishop of Mainz, the Primate of all Germany, and also one of the seven Electors to elect the German Kaiser. Three great bishoprics held by one very young man! It was wrong, and it had to be fixed up with the Pope.

The Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg thought his brother's election was "plainly by divine inspiration"; but he was only a plain layman and couldn't know any better; the Pope could not see it that way, not at all. So Joachim went to see the Pope to make the crooked straight. Leo wanted 15,000 ducats to call it square; he went down to 12,000, "because there were twelve Apostles." Joachim quickly countered with seven, "because there were only seven deadly sins." The honors of this witty wordy warfare were about even, and so they split the difference on 10,000 ducats, which Albrecht was to pay out of his own private pockets.

How pay when his pockets were always empty? Easy! He borrowed 30,000 gulden from the Fuggers of Augsburg, the great bankers of those days.

How pay them? Easy!

Pope Leo X proclaimed a plenary indulgence to run for eight years for the benefit of the building fund of the new St. Peter's Church that Luther saw going up in Rome to shelter the bones of St. Peter and St. Paul. But Peter and Paul were both to be robbed of one-half of the profits to pay Albrecht. For the privilege of peddling these indulgences in a large part of Germany Albrecht paid the Pope 10,000 gulden spot cash. And Albrecht did not see a cent of his half of the loot; the agents of Fugger were on the spot to collect Albrecht's half of the proceeds.

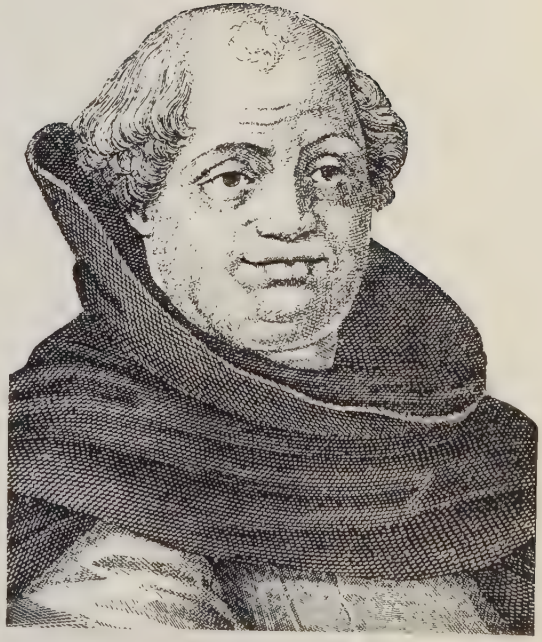
Holy Graftonia! Boss Tweed and the rest of you modern boodlers, back to school and take lessons from these past masters of frenzied finance!

A gulden is about fifty cents, but the purchasing power was about twenty times greater. For three gulden you could buy a cow, for thirty-six cents a pair of shoes, for one cent a bushel of wheat; when during a famine wheat cost fourteen cents a bushel, Luther thought he had a right to complain of the high cost of living. So Albrecht bought his office for about $300,000.

In one generation Mainz had seven archbishops, and so seven times 27,000 gulden went into the papal pockets for the papal pall for Mainz alone in one generation! Any wonder Germany was poor and Rome rich? Any wonder old Kaiser Max growled the Pope's income was a hundred times larger than his own? No, no wonder at all! The same thing went on all over Germany and in France and in England, in short, all over Europe.

You think twenty-three is a bit young for an Archbishop? Guess again! The see of Narbonne was bought for a boy of ten! Now, pray, do not be surprised, for we can top that — a child of five was made Archbishop of Rheims! This was in the good old times, before the days of one Martin Luther. No, you need not take our word

ALBRECHT OF MAINZ.
After Cranach.



JOHN TETZEL.

for it; read Cardinal Newman's *Prophetic Office,* p. 421, and Hallam's *Middle Ages,* chap. 7.

Alfred Baudrillart, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, says Albrecht "employed the chief artists of his time, and rewarded them in princely style. He collected the most celebrated musicians from all parts, gave splendid entertainments, and made a dazzling display of pomp. But the religious convictions of this archbishop had little depth; his moral conduct was not worthy of respect."

"Not worthy of respect" — well, hardly! He kept a harem for himself, his chief mistress being Ursula Niedinger; they say he even robbed one of his mistresses, Elsa, of her jewels, and then flung her into prison. What he enjoyed himself he would not refuse to others, and so his priests kept concubines; but they had to buy a license from him, and so the Archbishop made some pin-money on the side. Think it over!

This is the saintly clergyman whom the polished Erasmus styled "the finest ornament of Germany in the present century." If he was "the finest," what were the others? Kaiser Karl said Albrecht was neither Catholic nor Lutheran, but pagan. Pagan is right.

John Tetzel was a Dominican monk, but a little thing like that did not keep him from having two children; and a little thing like that did not keep Albrecht from hiring him to sell the indulgences, for he was an experienced and successful drummer. From the proceeds of his huckstering Tetzel could support his sister, so that she could sport four horses, and he left his heirs 2,000 florins. It certainly was a going concern, coining German sins into Roman ducats. Here at last was the philosophers' stone, — the alchemist was turning base metal into pure gold.

Wherever Tetzel went he was given an ovation. The civic authorities, trades unions, and school-children would receive him with processions. Before him was carried the

SELLING INDULGENCES.
Title-picture of a pamphlet by Hans Schwalb, 1521.

Pope's Bull of Indulgence on a splendid cushion of satin or cloth of gold. A cross with the Pope's coat of arms was carried in the rear. "In short, God Himself could not have been more magnanimously received." In the church he harangued the poor people on the blessed benefits to be got from buying his wares.

"Do you not hear your dear parents crying out, 'Have

TETZEL'S MONEY CHEST.

mercy upon us? We are in sore pain, and you can set us free for a mere pittance. We have borne you, we have trained and educated you, we have left you all our property, and you are so hard-hearted and cruel, that you leave us to roast in the flames when you could so easily release us!'"

Could the simple-minded and good-hearted Germans refuse such a piteous appeal? They could not, and they spent their hard-earned money freely.

Mayor John Hess of Goerlitz writes in his *Annals* that Tetzel boasted he could do more than the Mother of God

in the way of forgiving and retaining sins. Soon as the coin in the chest doth ring, the soul will into heaven spring. He would tear off the heads of opponents and thrust them thus bloody into hell.

In 1482, the Paris theologians had condemned this pecuniary poetry —

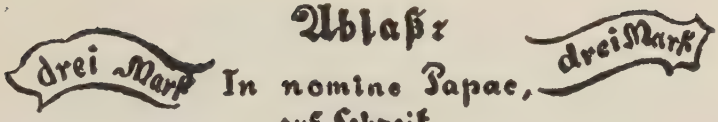
> Soon as the coin in the chest doth ring,
> Souls out of purgatory spring.

Kings, archbishops, and princes were to give twenty-five Rhenish gold gulden; abbots, counts, and barons, ten; people with incomes of five hundred gulden were to give six; the next class, one; poorer ones, one half, or one quarter, or even less. The poor? The poor could beg till they had the price. Upon payment a receipt was given, quite business-like; in fact, the thing was called "The Holy Business." There was a regular price list; perjury and robbing a church cost nine ducats, murder eight ducats, etc.

What is an indulgence? The surplus good works of the saints are added to the merit of Christ; of this treasury the Pope holds the key, and sells as much as you pay for to forgive the guilt and punishment of the living, and to free souls from the pains of purgatory. No matter what were the fine-spun theories in the beginning, this is what it came to.

As early as about 1100 the famous Abelard accused many bishops of selling indulgences "under the appearance of loving mercy, but in truth for sordid love of lucre," and Berthold of Regensburg, who died in 1272, complains of the then recent "penny-preachers, who replace repentance with indulgence-money, and thus destroy a part of the souls in their pastoral care."

Prof. Johann von Wesel, of the Erfurt University, about 1450, doubted the virtue of indulgences, — for which he died in prison. Aeneas Sylvius, who became Pope Pius II, said the Roman court gives nothing without money; even the gifts of the Holy Spirit are sold; forgiveness of sins is



Ich, Kraft der mir anvertrauten apostolischen Macht, spreche dich los von allen geistlichen Censuren, Urtheilssprüchen und Strafen, die du verdient hast, überdies von allen von dir begangenen Excessen, Sünden und Verbrechen, wie groß und schändlich sie auch sein mögen und um welch Sach willen es auch sei, auch für die unserm allerheiligsten Vater dem Papste reservirten Fälle.

Ich lösche jeglichen Makel der Untüchtigkeit, alle Zeichen der Ehelosigkeit aus, die du dabei erhalten haben magst. Ich erlasse dir die Strafen, die du im Fegfeuer hättest erdulden müssen. Ich gestatte dir wieder die Theilnahme an den kirchlichen Sakramenten.

Ich einverleibe dich wieder der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen und setze dich in die Unschuld und Reinheit zurück, in der du zur Stunde deiner Taufe gewesen bist. So, daß im Augenblick deines Todes das Thor, durch welches man in den Ort der Qualen und Strafen eingeht, verschlossen bleibt und jenes sich aufthut, welches zum Paradies der Freude führt. Solltest du nicht bald sterben, so bleibt diese Gnade unerschütterlich bis zu deinem Lebensende.

Im Namen des heiligen Vaters, Amen.

Johann Tietzel,
apostol. Commissarius.

A LETTER OF INDULGENCE.
From Houghton's *Homes and Haunts of Luther.*

Translation in the *London Daily News:* —

INDULGENCE.

In the name of the Pope.

For the entire life.

I, by virtue of the apostolic power entrusted to me, do absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and punishments which thou must have merited; besides this, from all excesses, sins, and crimes thou mayest have committed, however great and shameful they may have been, and for whatever cause, even in those cases reserved for our most Holy Father the Pope. I obliterate every taint of unvirtues, all signs of infamy, which thou mayest have received. I release thee from all punishments which thou wouldst have endured in purgatory. I permit thee again to participate in the sacraments of the Church. I incorporate thee again in the community of the sanctified, and replace thee in the state of innocence and purity in which thou wert at the hour of thy baptism. So that in the moment of thy death the door through which the sinner enters the place of torture and punishment will be closed, and that will be open to thee which leads into the paradise of joys. If thou shouldst not soon die, so shall this grace remain unshakable until the end of thy life. In the name of the Holy Father. Amen.

JOHANN TETZEL, *Apostol. Commissarius.*

granted only upon payment of the clinking coin. The good Catholic Erasmus wrote on February 16, 1521: "Every one knows that the Church was afflicted with tyranny, and with ceremonies, and with laws made only for gain."

W. S. Lilly, of Cambridge University, Secretary of the Catholic Union of Great Britain, in his *Renaissance Types*, p. 255, says: "What he thought he was buying was forgiveness of his past sins, and at the same time liberty to commit more. To the crowds who flocked to the indulgence fairs the message practically was that St. Peter, for hard cash, would open and guarantee heaven."

The Catholic Prof. Pastor, in the *History of the Popes*, says the indulgence was "degraded into a merely financial transaction. The need of money instead of the good of souls became only too often the end of the indulgence. . . . Neither religious nor secular clergy shrank from the direct sale of spiritual gifts, and gave absolution for money to those who did not even profess to have contrition. . . . Eck reported that 'permissory letters' were given as the actual reward of crime. . . . Cardinal Canisio was of opinion that the facilities for absolution encouraged sinners and were inducement to sin. . . . There is no doubt that his — Tetzel's — doctrine was virtually that of the drastic proverb: 'As soon as money in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory's fire springs.'" (Vol. VII, pp. 338—349.)

The Elector Frederick had spent a fortune of 200,000 florins collecting his choice relics, and the good Saxons could get very good indulgences at his favorite Court Church right in Wittenberg, and — and — he wanted to keep the good Saxon money in good old Saxony and not go out of his land to help his rival Hohenzollern pay his personal debts, and so he forbade Tetzel to enter Saxony, just as Duke George forbade him to enter Leipzig.

What law can keep people from rushing to a well-advertised bargain counter and sale?

Some Wittenbergers went to Juterbok, about twenty

THE CASTLE CHURCH.
After Cranach.

miles away, just across the border of Saxony, and bought indulgences. On their return they demanded the Lord's Supper without repenting of their sins, and so there was brought right home to Pastor Luther personally the fright-

ful destruction of souls wrought by this Holy Business. They refused to give up their adultery and stealing, and Luther refused them the Sacrament. They defiantly showed their bought indulgence, and accused Luther to Tetzel for teaching that repentance was a change of mind and not a change of money.

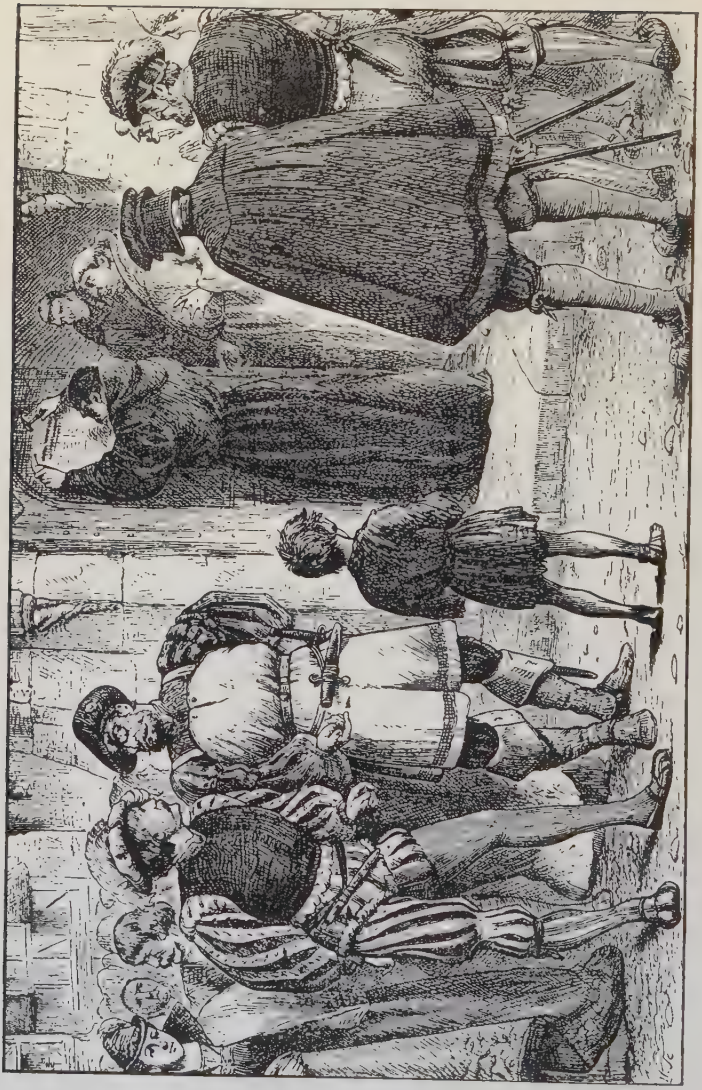
Verily, the house of prayer had again become a house of merchandise, a den of thieves, where souls were murdered for their money. (Matt. 21, 13; Mark 11, 17; Luke 19, 46.) Luther, like Christ, drove these thieves out of the Church of God. "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up." (John 2, 13—17.)

Did Luther rush into the pulpit and denounce indulgences as only he could denounce a thing? No. Did he rush into print as only he could use the press? No. What did he do? For six long months he studied in silence and in solitude.

It was a common thing to post theses for a public debate held every Friday; it belonged to the regular course of the university. And so, without a word to any one, Luther, at about noon on October 31, 1517, posted ninety-five theses, calling on one and all to debate the question of indulgences by word of mouth or in writing. The place was the door of the Castle Church, where, though written in Latin, the theses would be read by many in the crowds coming to get indulgences from viewing the 5,005 relics placed on view on the anniversary of the dedication of All Saints' Church on All Saints' Day, November first.

The first thesis reads: "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ says, 'Repent,' etc., He wants the whole life of the Christians to be a repentance."

"Repent!" said Jesus to the Church of His time, sunk in ceremonies and dead formalism. Repent, change your mind. "Repent!" said Luther to the Church of his time, sunk in ceremonies and dead formalism. Repentance, not penance. A change of mind for the whole life, not a single



POSTING THE NINETY-FIVE THESES.
From Castelar's "La Revolucion Religiosa."

performance of the outer man. Something spiritual, nothing material. Something ethical, nothing mechanical. Something martial, nothing commercial and financial. It is fighting the good fight of faith for life, not snapping up a good bargain for once.

The thirty-sixth thesis reads: "Every Christian truly repenting his sins is fully free from punishment and guilt without indulgences."

The thirty-seventh: "Every true Christian, alive or dead, shares in all the goods of Christ and the Church without indulgences."

All fraud is hateful; most hateful of all is hypocritical fraud. Christ has etched the hypocrites: "Ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretense make long prayers" — the masterpiece in the rogues' gallery. "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money," said the indignant Peter to Simon, the original simonist. So Luther in holy wrath scorns and scorches, smites and smashes, those who degrade the merciful God into a petty shopkeeper eager to turn a penny in the way of trade.

The thirty-first thesis reads: "They who believe themselves made sure of salvation by papal indulgences will be eternally damned along with their teachers."

The fiftieth: "Christians are to be taught that, if the Pope knew the exactions of the preachers of indulgences, he would rather have St. Peter's Church in ashes than have it built with the flesh and bones of his sheep."

The fifty-third: "They are enemies of Christ who silence God's Word to preach indulgences."

The sixty-second: "The real, true treasury of the Church is the most holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God."

The eighty-second: "If the Pope lets the souls out of purgatory for the sake of filthy lucre, why does he not do so for the sake of holiest love and the direst need of the souls?"

Why not? Echo — why not?

Fire and brimstone from heaven upon Sodom. Judgment began at the house of God.

And yet, what would you? They were theses for debate, that is all. The Pope? The Pope was being defended by a true friend against false friends; unknown to the Pope, they were harming the Holy Father, though the indulgence, on the face of it, was the Pope's.

Soon the theses were printed on a half sheet of paper. "Which made the mare go," as Agricola wrote. Myconius says: "No man will believe what talk they made." Like Lord Byron, Luther woke up one morning and found himself famous. The shepherd of the Wittenberg flock, Bishop Schultz of Brandenburg, sensed nothing un-Catholic in them. Albert Krantz of Hamburg said: "You speak the truth, good brother, but you'll not do anything; back to your cell and pray, 'God have mercy upon me!'" At Steinlausig Prior Fleck told his Franciscans, "*There* is a man who will do it!" And he wrote Luther: "Venerable Doctor, proceed! Press forward! These papal abuses always displeased me too," etc. Germany's greatest artist of all times, Albrecht Duerer, sent his approval from Nuernberg.

Kaiser Maximilian told Frederick's counselor Pfeffinger Luther's theses were not to be despised, and the Elector would better take care of him, for he might some day be useful against the prelates.

In two weeks the theses were spread over Germany, in four over all Christendom — "as if the angels themselves had been the messengers," says Myconius.

"Dr. Jerome Schurf took me sharply to task. 'You would write against the Pope? What do you hope to effect by it? They will not suffer it.' And I replied, 'What if they must suffer it?'"

Luther hammered these theses to the church-door at Wittenberg, and his sentences hammered down the papacy. He was a master of language. No man known to history ever moved men by speech in such perfection as Martin

Luther. At the sound of these theses, as at the report of a signal gun, the nations awoke.

Hegel wrote: "As the masterpiece of universal art, the Athene of Athens and her temple-hill, owed their origin to the money of the allies of Athens, and led to the ruin both of Athens and her allies, so the finishing of the Church of St. Peter and of Michelangelo's Last Judgment, in the Papal chapel, marked the day of doom for the proud edifice of the Papacy."

The *London Quarterly Review* of January, 1855, says: "October 31 should be a festive one in our calendar, as it is the birthday of the glorious Reformation, the rebaptism, in the laver of evangelical freedom, of the Gospel of Christ. There has been no day like it for nineteen hundred years, but the day of Pentecost, with its divine consecration and its converting power."

The first to take action against the daring monk was Archbishop Albrecht, who threatened to condemn him for heresy, and thus tried to frighten him to recant at once. Made of sterner stuff, Luther called the bluff, — he would not recant.

The bluffer passed the matter up to Pope Leo X, who languidly asked Gabriel della Volta, General of the Augustinians, to quiet the monk. Accordingly, Staupitz was told to get his man to recant.

Tetzel hurried to the new Hohenzollern university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the bitter rival of Wittenberg. In January, 1518, three hundred Dominicans foregathered to do honor to their brother when he was made a Doctor of Theology. Not having the needed brains, this Doctor of Theology got Wimpina to write two sets of theses for him, which he proclaimed against the Augustinian Luther.

"The authority of the Pope is superior to that of the universal Church and council, and his statutes must be humbly obeyed."

"The Pope cannot err in those things which are of faith and necessary to salvation."

"They who speak slightingly of the honor and authority of the Pope are guilty of blasphemy."

This became the official teaching of the Papacy at the Vatican Council in 1870.

Wimpina also said: "He that believes the purged soul cannot fly up much quicker than the coin reaches the bottom of the chest and clinks is proven in error." (Anacephaloeosis I, V, 44.)

Tetzel lighted fires several times to give a broad hint he had power to burn heretics; let Luther beware!

The theses were sent to enlighten Wittenberg. The students burned them in the market square to enlighten Wittenberg. Next day Luther told the students he did not wish in that way to enlighten Wittenberg.

Johann Mair von Eck, professor at Ingolstadt, denounced his former friend Luther as "a Bohemian heretic, insolent rioter, despiser of the Pope."

Query: Who was the first to call names, Luther or the papists?

Luther's case was to come up at the triennial convention of the Augustinians at Heidelberg in April, 1518. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld warned Martin not to leave Wittenberg, for he would be hanged or drowned. The fearless monk jokingly wrote: "My wife and child are provided for; my fields, house, and all my property have been distributed; my reputation and good name have already been picked to pieces: so there is nothing left but the unsightly and broken little body."

About April 12th Luther foots it from the shivering Elbe to the sunny Rhine. At Judenbach he runs across Pfeffinger, the Elector's purse-holder, the same that was so slow coming across with the goods Frederick had promised for Luther's gown. Now he makes the rich courtier shell

out and foot the hotel bill of ten groschen for himself and his two companions, Leonard Beier and the messenger Urban.

On the 15th Luther is at Coburg, about one hundred and twenty-five miles away; a pretty good walker, this Luther, for a professor! But he wistfully writes the wagons are all full — no one to give a lift to Martin Luther.

Lorenz von Bibra, the Bishop of Wuerzburg, went out of his way to honor the poor monk, and he urged the Elector to stand by his professor, whatever happened, and to let no harm come to him.

Here Luther met Lang of Erfurt, and climbed into his wagon, and rode into old Heidelberg on the 21st of April.

"You have, by Jove! a stunning letter of introduction from your Prince," said James Simler, and so Prince Wolfgang entertained the monk at court, and showed him the splendors and wonders of the famous castle; and Martin was as happy as a schoolboy on a vacation.

In a public debate Luther defended his teaching before the faculty of the University of Heidelberg and his own former teacher Usingen "so cleverly, that he made no little fame for Your Love's university. And great praise was given him by many learned men," as Prince Wolfgang wrote the Elector Frederick. (Ps. 119, 99. 100.)

John Brenz and others were so deeply impressed by the brilliant Wittenberger that they, in the following year, came over to his side. Even Martin Bucer, of the rival Dominicans, likens his mind to St. Paul's, and speaks of his "wonderful suavity in replying and incomparable patience in listening." Let us remember this tribute from an enemy.

"I came back in a chariot, who had trudged forth on foot." The men of Eisleben went out of their way to see him home to Wittenberg. "I was all right the whole of the way, and my meat and drink agreed with me wonderfully, so that people say I am more portly and fat than before."

Pope Leo ordered Procurator Marius de Perussis to begin a formal action "for suspicion of heresy." Jerome Ghinucci, Bishop of Askoli, was to conduct the trial; Sylvester Prierias, the Pope's confessor and master of the papal palace, was to give an expert opinion on the theses. He had condemned Reuchlin, the great German scholar and authority in Hebrew, and now, instead of writing a judicial opinion, he makes an attack with scurrilous personalities. He suspects Luther's father was a dog, for biting was the habit of dogs; he calls Luther a leper with a nose of iron, a head of brass, etc., etc.

Query: Who was the first to use rough language?

In this way he raised his shield over the infallible Pope to protect him from the assaults of Luther. He also said it was pure Catholic doctrine that the soul flies to heaven the moment the coin clinks in the chest. He even defended Tetzel's alleged statement that his indulgence would forgive a man even if he had violated the Holy Mother of God. As a good cook Tetzel had only added to wholesome food the stimulating spice.

Holy spice!

The uncouth Dominican monk swore by all that's holy he hadn't said it; the polished papal prelate publicly protested it was quite properly said!

"It is this gentlest of gentlemen who is both my adversary and judge," writes Luther. Roman justice! This judge wrote: "Whosoever is not imbued with the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman Pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith, from which even Holy Scripture draws its strength and authority, is a heretic."

Prierias boasted he had written his work in three days. Even the Pope wished his confessor had taken three months! In two days Luther had ready his scornful reply of about 15,000 words.

Anthony Trollope, one of the swiftest literary workers that ever lived, said it would have taken him fifteen hours

without laying down his pen and using his native English to write that much. And Luther wrote in Latin, "extremely forcible and expressive Latin — suggestive of flower-work in iron."

"I hoped the Pope would protect me, for I had so fortified my theses with proofs from the Bible and papal decretals that I was sure he would condemn Tetzel and bless me. But when I expected a benediction from Rome, there came thunder and lightning instead, and I was treated like the sheep that had roiled the wolf's water. Tetzel went scot-free, and I must submit to be devoured."

Kaiser Maximilian urged the Pope to silence the dangerous monk before he could do worse damage.

Capito thanked God for sending a new Daniel, and thus he was the first to express the truth that Luther had ushered in a new era. He also had Froben in Basel reprint the complete works of Luther, which found eager readers all over Europe.

CHAPTER SIX.

Controversies about the Theses.

I. Luther and Cajetan.

Old Kaiser Max, "the last of the knights," felt his end coming on, and called his last Reichstag to Augsburg in 1518, and spent much money to have his grandson Karl elected German Kaiser, though only eighteen. The imperial politician was foiled; all he could do was to crown Ulrich von Hutten poet-laureate.

Pope Leo X demanded a tax of ten per cent. for the holy war against the terrible Turk; but the Reichstag was in an ugly mood and replied Germany was bankrupt by the indulgence traffic, and the worst Turk sat in Rome. At the Reichstag in 1510 a long list of grievances against the papacy had been presented, and now, in 1518, the bitterness was just as marked. All that the Pope could do was to make a cardinal of the virtuous Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz.

On the seventh of August Luther was handed the Pope's order to answer the charge of heresy at Rome within sixty days.

Frederick was not minded to have the brightest light of his famous university lugged to Rome, and insisted his professor be tried in Germany, promising to pay all expenses.

An election being on, the Elector's vote was valuable to the Kaiser and to the Pope, and so the man with the important vote had his way.

Cardinal Thomas Vio of Gaeta, commonly called Cajetanus, was the Pope's Legate at the Augsburg Reichstag, sent to end the heresy in Bohemia and the neighborhood. Surely the right man, for at the Lateran Council, 1512—1517, he held the Pope infallible, above the Council, and the Church the born servant-maid of the Pope. He had also written

against Luther's Ninety-five Theses, and so, of course, the Dominican General was a proper person to sit in judgment on the Augustinian heretic. Though not at all well, Luther set out on foot for Augsburg.

"They'll burn you!" was the cheerful farewell ringing

KAISER MAXIMILIAN I.
After Duerer.

in his ears. The blazing fagots were before his eyes; his heart was heavy with the thought, "What a disgrace I'll be to my parents!"

At Weimar the Franciscan prior Kestner warned him the Italians would end the matter by fire. "If God upholds the cause, it will be upheld; if He does not, I cannot; His, therefore, will be the shame." Irreverent, were it not sublime.

At Nuernberg Link thought Luther's appearance would never do, and so took his shabby gown and lent him a better one, one of his own. Others advised him to turn back and not fall into the clutches of the uncanny Roman. He replied, "At Augsburg also Christ reigns. Let Christ live, let Martin die."

COURT OF JACOB FUGGER'S HOUSE AT AUGSBURG,
Where Luther was before Cardinal Cajetan.

Near Augsburg he was too sick to walk any more, and so a wagon had to be gotten.

Everybody wished to see the new Herostratus, who had set fire to the Church, as the old one had fired the Ephesian dome. The learned patrician Dr. Peutinger dined him on October ninth.

Friends insisted on getting a safe-conduct from the Kaiser ere Luther set foot in Cajetan's apartments in the palace of the papal banker Jacob Fugger.

On October 11, "I went to him as a suppliant, first

throwing myself on my knees, then bowing to the earth, and then falling flat on my face." At a sign from the legate Luther rose to his knees; at a second sign he rose to his feet, — just as he had been coached to show respect to the personal representative of the Pope. Cajetan was all smiles;

CAJETAN.

all he wanted was for Luther to recant. The rude barbarian from the North would not recant unless proven wrong. The polished prelate would not degrade himself to argue with a common monk, but at last unbent so far as to tell him "Pope Clement had expressly declared the merits of Christ were the treasure of indulgences," and the Pope's word settled the question. When Luther said the Word of God

was above the word of the Pope, the Italians laughed him to scorn. At last Cajetan graciously permitted the monk to reply in writing.

On the 14th, Luther returned with Staupitz, Feilitsch, Link, and other friends; Italians, curious to see the bold German, crowded the legate's chamber.

The legate glanced impatiently at Luther's written reply, and at once repeated Pope Clement had settled the question. Luther says: "Ten times almost I tried to put in my word. Ten times he thundered me down." At last Luther cried louder than the legate he would recant if Pope Clement had really declared the merits of Christ to be the treasure of indulgence. "Heavens! what gesticulating and joyful chuckling!" The legate gets the book and exultingly reads: Christ by the merits of His Passion "acquired the treasure of indulgence."

"Ha! most reverend Father, stop a bit. If Christ by the merits of His Passion *acquired* the treasure, then the merits cannot *be* the treasure!"

The legate was stunned; he tried to hide his confusion by trying to change the subject. But Luther would not let him skip, he pinned him down to the point. With frank humor he says he replied in a tone "certainly irreverent enough," "Your most reverend Paternity must not suppose that, Germans though we be, we are ignorant of grammar. It is one thing to *be* a treasure and another to *acquire* a treasure."

The laugh was on the legate. Tell it not in Gaeta, publish it not in the streets of Rome! The legate was one of the most learned theologians and skilful debators of his time, and he was an authority on indulgences, having published a special treatise on the subject dedicated to a cardinal, afterward a pope. Now this learned lord and "Light of the Church," as Pope Clement VII called him, backed by all the authority of the papacy, was made a laughing-

LUTHER AND CAJETAN.
After Lindenschmit.

stock by a poor German monk in a borrowed coat! Yes, it is to laugh!

Having lost everything else, Cajetan now also lost his temper, and told Luther to get out and never return unless to recant. Recant he would not, so return he could not.

The legate did not wish to see Luther, who had "profound eyes and wonderful speculations in his head."

Luther appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope to-be-better-informed; in other words, he asked for another trial judge, when Cajetan threatened to curse him with the ban of excommunication. Cajetan would not give up the money for indulgences, Luther insisted on it. (Later the Pope had to give up much more without stopping the split in the Church. A stitch in time would have saved nine, ninety times nine.)

Luther says: "Had the cardinal at Augsburg acted more moderately and received me as a suppliant, things would never have gone so far. For up to that time I knew but little of the errors of the Pope. Had he kept quiet, I should have done the same." The Pope's Legate Campeggio also said: "Cajetan has destroyed this cause by trying to use force in a matter that called for wise counsel and strategy."

By the way, this learned Cardinal Cajetan taught indulgences did not at all benefit those who could do enough for themselves. Cardinal Bellarmine thought this good and pious, but against the common teaching of Rome, as Cajetan admitted. Cardinal Bellarmine also admits the money-greed of the indulgence-peddlers.

"Without trousers, boots, spurs, or sword" Luther in his monkish gown, before dawn on October twentieth, galloped out of Augsburg's walls through a little gate pointed out by the friendly Langemantel. "The legate loved me so that for love of me he would have shed blood — *my* blood."

Luther fled in the nick of time, for even then the Pope sent the legate a letter ordering him to bring the heretic

to Rome, and to ban and curse all holding to Luther. And the Pope wrote this before the sixty days of the citation were up, and before Luther had been tried!

Volta, the general of the Augustinians, also ordered Gerhard Hecker, the provincial of the Augustinians for South Germany, to put Luther in chains. Jedwood justice — first hang a man and try him afterwards.

After riding thirty-two miles without resting, Luther drew rein at Monheim and sank from his saddle like dead into the straw of the stable. At Nuernberg Willibald Pirkheimer, "The First Citizen of Germany," as Hutten styled him, entertained the horsed monk at dinner. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld laughed heartily at the figure the mounted monk cut, and had him at table.

"I am full of joy and peace," wrote Luther on reaching home a year after posting his Theses.

On November ninth Pope Leo issued a bull condemning the errors of certain monks on indulgences and other points. "Rome has spoken, the case is finished."

Cajetan, in a sharp letter, requested Frederick to deliver the heretic to Rome, or drive him out of the country. Frederick firmly refused to do either to one who had not been convicted of heresy. The University honored Luther by making him Dean of the Theological Faculty.

On November twenty-ninth Luther appealed from the Pope to a free council, just as the University of Paris had done in March. He felt a spirit possessing him and driving him forward. He suspected the Pope was the Antichrist.

Speaking of Albrecht Duerer, Lazarus Spengler, and other celebrated lights of Nuernberg, Scheurl remarked: "Nearly all the conversation at table concerns a certain Martin. Him they celebrate, adore, champion. For him they are prepared to endure everything." And to Eck: "The clergy's love for the man is astonishing. They are flying to him in flocks. They subscribe to his opinions, they applaud him, they bless him."

PIRKHEIMER, THE NUERNBERG PATRICIAN.
After Duerer.

The Dinner to Dr. Frosch.

At some reception at Augsburg Johann Frosch, the prior of the Carmelite cloister there, told the important and courted Elector Frederick of his plan to take the Doctor's degree at Wittenberg. "Oh! charmed to hear it! We shall make a Doctor of you, and I shall stand the dinner." Exit happy John Frog, and the Elector busied himself with his important business.

When Luther came to Augsburg, he put up at the Carmelite cloister, and Prior Frosch, an old Wittenberg student, was all kindness and hospitality, and mentioned to his distinguished guest his plans and the Elector's promise. "Come by all means; it will be all right if the Prince has promised."

On his return to Wittenberg Luther, amid all his trials and troubles, places these details before Spalatin. "See, then, that what Frosch hopes for shall be honorably given him."

Dead silence from Spalatin. After eight days Luther again bombards Spalatin. Here is the illustrious Frosch actually present in Wittenberg, and loudly proclaiming the Elector promised him an honorary dinner!

"Obliquely waddling to the end in view," Luther learned the Elector was "ignorant or dubious of the promise" made to Frosch.

Here was a pretty "How do ye do?"! Frosch, of course, was truthful, and Frederick, of course, was truthful. Frederick's honor must be kept sacred, and Frosch's feelings must be spared. Luther wrote again and again; in vain. Frosch could not have his dinner at the palace, Frosch could not have his dinner at the University. Luther asked his great and good friends among the burghers of Wittenberg, but the honor of honoring Frosch seemed no honor to these solid and stolid Philistines in those dim November days. Where there is a will, there is a way. The promise of our Saxon Prince must not be broken; Frosch, worthy of honor,

must not be left unhonored. Rather than that, we must startle the monastic silences, and let the cloisters of our own convent attest the Doctorial Majesty of Frosch. But we are truly poor; the company will be large; we cannot possibly manage without help. If the Prince will send some venison, we can perhaps pull through. Frosch got his degree of Doctor, Frosch got his dinner; Frosch's heart was glad, Frederick's honor was saved, and the whole was due to Martin Luther. In the world's mighty drama only a little interlude, but how close it brings us to the human Luther. A gentleman and diplomat united in this Knight of the Golden Heart.

This was not all. So far Frosch was glad to think he was a man whom a prince delighted to honor, and Luther kept himself behind the curtain. Now he would step forth and do a little honoring in his own name. Frosch had been kind to Luther at Augsburg, now Luther would be kind to Frosch at Wittenberg. Accordingly, he arranged a little supper in his honor. Luther's keen eye had noticed the absence of Melanchthon at the formal dinner, and Frosch also had felt it, and in the afternoon Luther wrote a note insisting on the presence of Melanchthon with Professors Veit and Schwertfeger to do honor to the new Doctor, the worthy Prior John Frog.

Yes, the edelweiss grows in the Alpine heights.

II. Luther and Miltitz.

Karl von Miltitz had been sent to Rome in 1515 by Frederick to get indulgences, relics, and, above all, the Golden Rose, which the Pope granted from time to time to specially deserving papists. In 1518, Miltitz returned with the coveted prize to bribe the Elector to betray Luther and send "the child of Satan and son of perdition" in chains to Rome. He had no less than seventy "Apostolic Letters" from the Pope to princes and prelates to arrest Luther, or pass him through their lands to Rome.

By this time the Elector was less interested in the rose and more interested in his monk, and so he coolly accepted the rose, and coolly left "the child of Satan and son of perdition" unchained.

The noble Saxon chamberlain soon sensed a change in the sentiment of the people. He found three out of four for Luther and an army of twenty-five thousand not strong enough to lug Luther to Rome. Too late for force! Too late for ban and interdict! A change in the political weather demands a change in the papal political tactics.

Miltitz cited Tetzel to Altenburg. Tetzel begged to be excused from leaving Leipzig for fear of death at the hands of the people.

We rub our eyes; are we in dreamland or in a German land? One short year after Luther's Theses, Tetzel, backed by the greatest archbishop of Germany and the Pope at Rome, afraid to travel the short distance from Leipzig to Altenburg for fear of losing his life at the hands of good Catholic people! One short year after Luther's Theses, Tetzel had to quit the indulgence business, though the eight-year-lease still had five years to run. Luther had killed "the Holy Business"; there were no more buyers. "Othello's occupation's gone." Surely, "the world do move," as black Brother Jasper of Richmond was wont to opine. And it was moving rapidly in those stirring days.

At Leipzig, Miltitz fiercely denounced the abandoned pardon vendor in the fiercest manner. When the cowed Tetzel was cowering in his convent, and everybody was roundly cursing him for causing all the trouble, it was the noble-minded, big-hearted, whole-souled Luther who wrote the neglected, broken-hearted, dying man a letter of cheer and comfort, telling him he was not to blame, but the man higher up; "the child has an altogether different father."

Friend Luther, we do love you for this act!

Frederick's counselor, Pfeffinger, was with Miltitz at

Nuernberg, and was sure Luther might have any dignity he wished, as Scheurl informed him in a letter of December twentieth. At Worms Frederick told some fellow-princes he knew for certain Martin could have a rich archbishopric or a cardinal's hat if he would only recant. Failing to bite at the bait, Luther was invited to see Miltitz at Altenburg in January, 1519.

The gay young Saxon nobleman fiercely denounced the shameless indulgence-hucksters; he spoke flatteringly of Luther's person and great influence; he regretted the harm Luther had done the Pope, and wept tears, real tears, as he said it. He did not insist that Luther retract his teaching. Luther was touched, and promised to be silent provided his enemies were silent. Miltitz dined, embraced, and kissed "the child of Satan and son of perdition," who had an uncomfortable feeling of a Judas kiss and of crocodile's tears.

Miltitz misrepresented matters to Leo, who was led to believe Luther would retract. The Pope was mightily pleased, and on March 29, 1519, invited his "dear son" Luther to Rome to make his confession, and even offered money for the journey.

The death of Kaiser Max and the following politics halted the heresy trial for fourteen months.

Later Miltitz, filled with wine, fell overboard and drowned in the Rhine.

III. Luther and Eck.

Luther promised his Bishop Scultetus to be silent if his enemies were silent; they were not. Luther promised Cajetan to be silent if his enemies were silent; they were not. Luther promised Miltitz to be silent if his enemies were silent; they were not. In his fight with Carlstadt, Eck always attacked Luther, and so he was forced into the debate at Leipzig, the bitterly hostile rival of Wittenberg.

To prepare himself for the debate, Luther studied the Canon Law, a collection of old canons, or church-laws, made in the twelfth century, to which parts were added from time to time till 1484. The papal pretensions to universal supremacy rest on this Canon Law; now Luther found that parts of it were forgeries! The serious consequences of this historic truth were clear to him; he was amazed, yet he did not waver.

"The Lord draws me, and I follow not unwillingly," he wrote Pirkheimer, although the Pomeranian Chancellor Olsnitzer reported from Rome they would do away with him by poison or dagger.

Escorted by two hundred armed students headed by the young Pomeranian Duke Barnim, Rector of the University, the Wittenbergers, on June 24, 1519, entered Leipzig by the Grimma Gate. Luther lodged with Lotther, the famous printer.

The Bishop of Merseburg, by public placard, forbade the disputation as useless, the question having been already decided against Luther by the Pope's bull of November 9, 1518. But Duke George bade the Bishop be still, and threw the bill-sticker into prison.

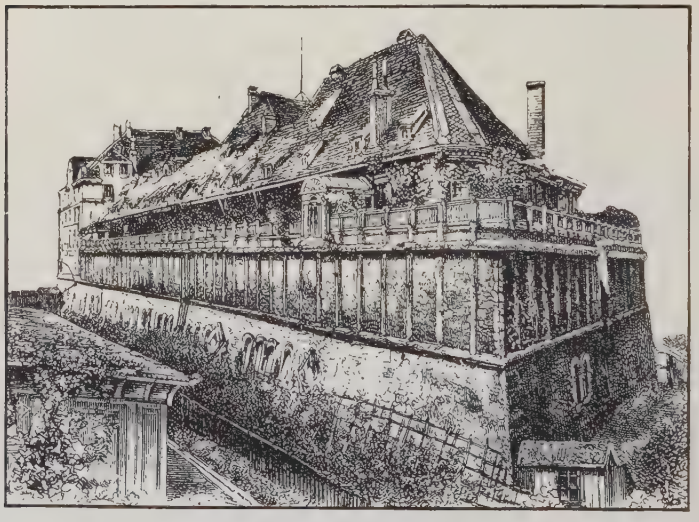
From this great historic theological debate at Leipzig the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig stood sullenly aloof, and so lawyer Simon Pistoris, on June 27, welcomed the debaters in the university, whence they wended in stately procession to the Thomas Church, where a new mass in twelve voices was rendered by the trained singers and players of George Rau; then in splendid parade, with banners and arms and drums, to Duke George's richly furnished Pleissenburg, where the young professor of rhetoric and poetry, Peter Mosellanus, welcomed them in a speech of two hours, — and it was hot!

All things come to an end, and the speech of Mosellanus also came to an end, at last! Then the whole assembly

kneeled while trained singers sang the grand old "Come, Holy Spirit," — and sang it three times!

A recess for dinner till two o'clock.

For four days Eck defended the free will of man, Carlstadt the free grace of God. So dreary and tedious was the debate during the oppressive heat in the low hall that the learned Leipzig lights slept so soundly they had to be wakened for their meals.



THE PLEISSENBURG AT LEIPZIG.

On Monday, July 4, at 7 in the morning, Luther faced Eck, his ablest opponent. Over Luther's desk hung a picture of Martin of Tours, over Eck's one of St. George killing the dragon, — was Luther the dragon?

For five days they discussed the Pope's power. Eck held the papacy was a direct divine institution of Christ Himself (Matt. 16, 19). Luther denied it, and said the papacy was a merely human institution like the German Empire. The Church was not built on Peter, but on the

ST. GEORGE THE DRAGON-KILLER.

JOHN ECK OF INGOLSTADT.

faith of Peter, rather, on Christ, the object of the faith of Peter.

Eck said as the Church in heaven had a heavenly King, so the Church on earth had to have an earthly king; the Church must be a monarchy, with the Pope as the head. (John 5, 19.) Luther said the Church had to have a head, but that was Christ. If not, where was the head every time a pope died? "I revere Bernard, but in a debate we must take the genuine, original, unquestionable meaning of the words of Scripture; God's Word stands above all human words."

Luther said, if the papacy were an institution of God, all Christians had needs be subject to it. But the Oriental Church and the Greek Church with the best Church Fathers and thousands of saints would not submit to the Pope of Rome. Would the Pope and his flatterers thrust all these Christians out of heaven? Eck with an iron nerve and cold blood declared them all heretics, and gave them over to eternal damnation.

On July 5, Eck said Luther's teaching that the Church on earth needed no head, and faith in the supremacy of the Pope were not needed for salvation, was a heresy of Hus and Wyclif, condemned by the great Council of Constance. Thereby he wished to class Luther with the Hussite heretics, who, he heard, wished Luther good luck.

The Hussite heretics had driven the Germans from the University of Prague to found the University of Leipzig, where they were debating, and the Hussite wars had wasted Saxony more than any other part of Germany, and the Saxons had drawn the sword many times to defend Germany against these Bohemians, and to be classed with them was a deadly insult. At first Luther vigorously objected to being classed with these hateful heretics.

In the afternoon he of his own accord returned to this charge and said some of the statements of the Hussites were thoroughly Christian and Gospel-truths, no matter whether

Wyclif or Hus taught them! No Christian was to be forced to believe as an article of faith what was not grounded on God's Word. Why, even authorities on Canon Law, like Archbishop Nicholas de Tudesco of Palermo, held the opinion of a single Christian was to count for more than Pope and council when based on better grounds, and that a council could err.

When Duke George heard Luther's bold statement that some sentences of Hus were Christian he was startled, and from his bearded lips came the favorite ducal curse, "The plague take it!" It was heard throughout the hall, and a great commotion arose among the throng. Luther not only offended all Catholic feeling, but also the German national feeling when he sided with the heretical Bohemian; yet here at Leipzig Luther boldly stretched out his hand across a century and clasped hands with Hus. It seemed you could smell the smoke of the burning fagots that would surely end the new German Hus.

Eck showed that by defending the teachings of Hus, Luther condemned the great Council of Constance for having erred in burning Hus as a heretic.

Luther was frightened at the great gulf yawning between himself and the Church. But on the third day, July 6, he made the epochal declaration: "The Bible alone is infallible. Even councils can err, and have erred."

On July 7, Luther again stuck his guns that a council had no right to introduce new articles of faith, etc. *Eck:* "If you believe that a rightly assembled council errs and has erred, you are to me as a heathen man and a publican."

In the matter of purgatory Luther rejected the authority of the Council of Florence and of Second Maccabees; the Church had no right to put into the Bible what did not belong there.

In the matter of indulgences Eck sang small, and so no real debate was possible. Luther wrote: "Indulgences

fell through completely, and he agreed to almost all I said, so that their use was turned to scorn and mockery."

In the final debate, on July 14, Luther ended by saying: "I see Dr. Eck goes into the Bible as deep as a spider into water; nay, he shuns it as the devil does the cross. With all due respect to the Fathers, I will rather hold by the Bible."

In winding up this historic debate, John Lang, the Rector of the University, calls Luther a man of the greatest integrity — "Not less in life than doctrine you act the part of Augustine."

"Gentlemen, I am unable by any oratorical power of mine to do justice to the genius and virtues of men so eminent as these rival champions. Let me follow the example of the painter Timanthes. Having to paint the cruel sacrifice of Iphigenia, he delineated Calchas, the sad prophet of the Trojan War, Ulysses dissolved in tears, Menelaus oppressed with sorrow. But when he came to Agamemnon, he felt that the powers of his brush were exhausted, and covered the face with a veil."

Classically and diplomatically the orator left it to his audience to decide whether the veiled Agamemnon stood for Eck or for Luther.

Duke George thought he stood for Eck, and sent him a stag, the usual sign of victory; Carlstadt received a hind for coming out second best; Luther got nothing, not having been in it officially.

Eck was feted, and for nine days he enjoyed the beer, wine, and women of Leipzig; but Prof. Mosellanus wrote thinking men gave the palm of victory to Luther, of whom he paints this pen-picture: —

"Martin is of medium stature, spare body, so run down with cares and studies you can, when near, count almost all his bones. He is in his best years. He has a voice that is clear and carries well. His learning and Bible knowledge are wonderful, so that he has almost everything in hand.

LUTHER IN 1520.
After Cranach.

Of Greek and Hebrew he has learned enough to form an independent judgment. He is never at a loss for matter; for an extraordinary wealth of ideas and words are at his command. In his life and manners he is courteous and friendly, no frown and pride about him, and can adapt himself to all occasions. In company he is pleasant, lively, always sure of himself, and of a cheering face, no matter what evil his enemies may be plotting, so that one must needs believe he does not undertake such important matters without the help of God."

As David shed the cumbersome armor of Saul, and trusted alone in the stones from the brook, so Luther had to give up all the Roman Church armor and trust alone in the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit. "My enemies have driven me into the Scriptures." Eck pushed Luther beyond the roped arena of Catholicism, and forced him to take his stand on the ground of Protestantism. At Leipzig, Luther really ceased being a Roman Catholic and began being a Protestant. This is the real meaning of the great debate at Leipzig.

Luther had made rapid progress. He appealed from Tetzel to the bishops; on October 16, 1518, he appealed from Cajetan to the Pope; on November 25, 1518, he appealed from the Pope to a council; on July 6, 1519, he appealed from a council to the Bible alone as the sole judge in spiritual matters, the Bible to be explained by every reader for himself. Thus Luther stood alone in the world, stood alone against the world, stood a Protestant, a servant of Christ alone.

This great battle at Leipzig in 1519 had a bloody sequel more than a century after when Gustav Adolf gave his heroic life on the plains of Leipzig to rout the Roman hosts of papal Tilly to maintain the freedom of faith proclaimed by Luther. This great battle of Luther at Leipzig was vastly more important than the battle of nations at

Leipzig in which was broken the military power of Napoleon the Great.

On July 4, 1519, Luther began to give the world the spiritual Declaration of Independence from the tyranny of the Pope, and as a result of this Thomas Jefferson could write on July 4, 1776, the political Declaration of Independence from England.

It is worthy of note that in this terribly earnest debate Luther carried a spray of flowers, of which he sometimes smelled; certainly a characteristic touch.

It was remarked that Luther wore a silver ring, and the superstitious said in this the heretic carried the devil in order to consult him; even Eck said there might be something to it.

During these days Luther entered a church and the massing monks hurriedly hid their sacred vessels so that the holy Sacrament might not be desecrated by the heretic! He certainly was in the enemy's country. Eck preached against Luther four times from the city pulpits, which were closed to Luther!

Of the many that denounced Luther's bold stand at Leipzig we name Sylvester Prierias, Master of the Papal Palace, who wrote the Pope is infallible, his kingdom is that of the Son of Man; he is not only the ruler of the whole world, but he is virtually the whole world, the world-soul, who could make and unmake emperors at will. And he quoted a passage from the Decretals: "If the Pope were so wicked as to lead souls in crowds to the devil, still no one could depose the Pope."

Luther wrote if this were printed with the consent of the Pope, he is not Peter (Matt. 16), but the Antichrist (1 Thess. 2).

As a result of the Leipzig debate Luther's teachings were advertised, and many nobles and knights rallied to his side. The letter of Mosellanus brought many of the educated classes to the side of Luther. He was the advo-

cate of freedom and the Bible; more clearly than before he was the uplifter of the banner against Rome.

Crotus Rubeanus from Italy wrote Luther first-hand information of the efforts there on foot to crush him, and hailed him as the "Father of the Fatherland, worthy of a golden statue and a yearly festival."

The Dressed Eck appeared, a most brilliant satire, in which Eck received a thorough dressing down, and the prize-fighting debater became a joke in Germany.

In April, 1519, Luther made plain for the plain people the Lord's Prayer, which was reprinted many times in many languages. The philologian Beatus Rhenanus urged Zwingli to canvass it from house to house; even the papists praised it. In the fall Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* appeared, which Melanchthon called Theseus' clue through the maze of Biblical science. It was turned into English and blessed many hearts. John Bunyan said, "I prefer this book of Luther's on Galatians to all the books I have seen, as being best suited to a wounded conscience." In London the Baptist Spurgeon treasured it highly, and in America the Presbyterian Dr. Brookes of St. Louis placed it next to the Bible. Of the introduction Dr. Bayne says: "Irony of this order is, so far as I know, unique in literature. . . . The defiant and leonine Luther, the Luther who, like the horse in Job, scents the battle from afar, and the snorting of whose nostrils is terrible, always triumphs over the meek and lamblike Luther. How much prettier had it been otherwise! Yes; and where then had been the Reformation?"

On April 14, 1519, Erasmus wrote the Elector Frederick: "Every one who knows the man — Luther — approves his life, since he is as far as possible from suspicion of avarice or ambition, and blameless morals find favor even among heathen." A month later he wrote in the same strain to Cardinal Wolsey: "The man's life is approved by the unanimous consent of all, and the fact that his character

is so upright that even enemies find nothing to slander in it must considerably prejudice us in his favor."

With the grandeur of modest pride Luther writes Erasmus: "Coepit et nomen meum non latere — My name, too, has begun to emerge from obscurity" — quite quotable if written by an ancient Roman.

On May 30, 1519, Erasmus wrote Luther: "Dearest brother in Christ, your epistle, showing the keenness of your mind and breathing a Christian spirit, was most pleasant to me. I cannot tell you what a commotion your books are

raising here. . . . In England there are men who think well of your writings, and they the very greatest. . . . I have looked over your commentaries on the Psalms, which pleased me very much."

The same day the timid Erasmus wrote Lang at Erfurt: "All good men love Luther's boldness." On November 1, the temperate Erasmus wrote Albrecht of Mainz: "I think it is their fault if Luther has written too intemperately." This is worth remembering. In the same year he wrote Lipsius of Brussels: "They are starting a foolish and pernicious tragedy against Luther." Quite true, "they" are starting it, and it is both "foolish and pernicious" — for themselves.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

Three Monumental Writings.

I. To the Christian Nobility.

The Pope's claim to temporal power is based on Emperor Constantine's donation of Central Italy to the Bishop of Rome. Lorenzo Valla proved this donation to be a huge forgery. When Luther read this work in Hutten's edition, in February, 1520, he cried out: "Good God! what iniquity on the part of the Romans! . . . That the forgery should have . . . taken the place of articles of faith! So agonized am I that I have almost quit doubting the Pope is the very Antichrist, . . . so perfectly do all things which he lives, does, speaks, and orders suit the character."

Having made a study of Hus, Luther finds he has been burned by the Council of Constance for preaching the truth! "I know not for stupor what to think when I see the judgments of God so terrible among men that Gospel-truth, publicly burned a hundred years ago, is held for damned!"

The air is becoming electric. To all warnings and pleadings and rebukes Luther replies: "It is no new thing if the world is perturbed by the Word of God. Herod, and all Jerusalem with him, were troubled by merely hearing that Christ had been born: why should not the earth be moved and the sun be darkened when the tidings are that Christ is dead?"

The storm broke, the thunder crashed, the lightning struck.

"The time for silence is gone, and the time to speak has come." (Eccl. 3, 7.) Since the clergy have become quite careless, Luther speaks "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Bettering of the Christian Estate."

Part One.

The Romanists have drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has fallen terribly.

The First Wall.

That the temporal power has no jurisdiction over the spiritual.

Luther shows that all baptized Christians are God's clergy, according to 1 Cor. 12; 1 Pet. 2, 9; Rev. 5, 10. That stick of dynamite blows up this wall of alleged clerical supremacy and privilege.

The Second Wall.

That no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope.

Against this wall Luther fires the truth that all Christians are to read and understand the Scriptures: 1 Cor. 14, 30; John 6, 45; John 17; 1 Cor. 2, 15; 2 Cor. 4, 13.

Otherwise we must change "I believe in the holy Christian Church" into "I believe in the Pope of Rome," and reduce the Christian Church to one man, which is a devilish and damnable heresy.

These shots from the divine arsenal razed the second wall.

The Third Wall.

That no one may call a council but the Pope.

The third wall falls of itself, as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the Pope acts against the Bible, we are bound to stand by the Bible, to punish and to constrain him, according to Christ's commandment, Matt. 18, 15—17.

Part Two.

Of the matters to be considered in the councils.

Here Luther lays bare the corruptions of the Papal Court with intimate knowledge, and denounces the spiritual

robbery in such fierce terms as Wyclif and Hus had never dreamt of. "I have said, and will say, nothing of the infernal dregs of private vices. I only speak of well-known public matters, and yet my words do not suffice." No, not even Luther's language can suffice to paint the horrible conditions of the Church in those days.

Part Three.

Luther is not a blatant and ranting agitator; he is, indeed, the most destructive critic, but also the most constructive critic. He uncovers the sores only to give a cure for all — twenty-six for the bettering of the spiritual estate and six for the bettering of the temporal estates. These thirty-two planks he builds into his platform of progressive reform, and writes himself down the greatest statesman of his day in all Europe.

This work is an invective of intoxicating rhetoric reading like a dithyrambic. Demosthenes against Philip, Cicero against Catiline, Burke against Warren Hastings, Patrick Henry against George III, Zola against the persecutors of Dreyfus, — all of them rolled into one do not equal this terrible indictment of Rome that scorches like livid lightning. Withal, he is as statesmanlike as Napoleon and Bismarck, changing the face of Europe. With this work Luther writes his name in the first rank of the world's greatest authors.

Farrar says nothing like this was written since Paul's letter to the Galatians; and Hausrath says: As Paul's individuality comes out clearest in Second Corinthians, so Luther's genius in this heart-stirring writing. Preserved Smith calls it "new and original, fused by genius into a living organism. It is a work of world-wide importance, at once prophesying and molding the future, . . . Luther's greatest work." Milton defended Luther's fierce language, showing he only got despite from Cajetan and Eck when writing with moderation.

Early in August four thousand copies were printed; before the end of August a second edition was called for! Luther was the herald and the captain of the German nation. He was the Samson that pulled down the pillars of the papal political power. Hutten wrote, offering to surround him with the swords of the German knights. Luther declined the sword of steel; his letter to Hutten is lost, but he wrote Spalatin: "I will not fight the Gospel-fight with force and carnage — I have told the man so black on white. By the Word has the world been conquered. By the Word has the Church been preserved. By the Word will her breaches be repaired. And Antichrist, as he began without hand, so will he perish without hand, by the Word alone."

Sense and chivalry.

II. The Babylonian Captivity.

In his "Address" Luther had "sung high"; he promised an *encore* "still higher." He sang it in only two months; it is called, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church" — the picturesque title itself an inspiration of genius. This work lays the ax to the doctrinal root of the papacy. Luther was well aware of this, but the single man went about the titanic work in a very cool and calm manner.

The Pope's seven sacraments were seven rings chaining in a sevenfold slavery the Christian from the cradle to the grave. Luther insists on the following truths:

1. The Lord's Supper is to be celebrated as Christ instituted it, with bread and wine, not without the wine. The Hussites are not the heretics, but the Popes, who refuse the cup to the people.

Then, the priest does not "make God" by changing the bread into the Lord's body; the bread is nothing but bread, although with it the Lord gives us His body.

Furthermore, the Lord's Supper is not a sacrifice which we offer up to the Lord, in it Christ is not killed in an

ULRICH VON HUTTEN.

FRANZ VON SICKINGEN.

unbloody manner every time the priest says Mass: this is sheer superstition. This witchcraft Luther utterly destroys.

2. Holy Baptism, which is good in itself, the Pope has practically thrust aside by overlaying it with countless vows, orders, satisfactions, pilgrimages, indulgences, special holy works to merit the grace of God, which is granted freely in Baptism. All needed vows we have made in Baptism, and all other vows are needless and harmful.

3. Penance is really not a sacrament. We derive full comfort from the Absolution, the forgiveness of sins, and not from our sorrow and contrition. The repentant sinner is to be heartened in firm faith to trust the forgiveness of God. Faith is the thing, not the fine we pay.

4. Confirmation is not a sacrament. It is a very good thing to instruct the children, and, when old and ripe enough, to bless them with God's Word; but for this work no bishop is needed in any wise.

5. Marriage is not a sacrament dependent on a priest. Jews and Gentiles are properly married without a priest. Marriage is not a means of grace, else did the Pope sin grievously in forcing celibacy on his priests, and inventing so many hindrances to marriage, which are only a part of Roman graft. "I, for my part, detest divorce, and even prefer bigamy to it; but whether it be lawful, I dare not define." Let us remember this, and that it was written as early as 1520.

6. Priestly consecration is not a sacrament; that is contrary to the universal priesthood of all believers, and a fable invented to make of the priests everlasting slaves to the Pope.

7. Extreme unction is not a sacrament; it is a medicine for the recovery of the sick, not a preparation for death.

Thus Luther stalks through the Church and with a rod of iron smites these deadly superstitions as a potter's vessels, and only potsherds remain. He knocked away the underpinning, and papal dominion fell with a crash, and great

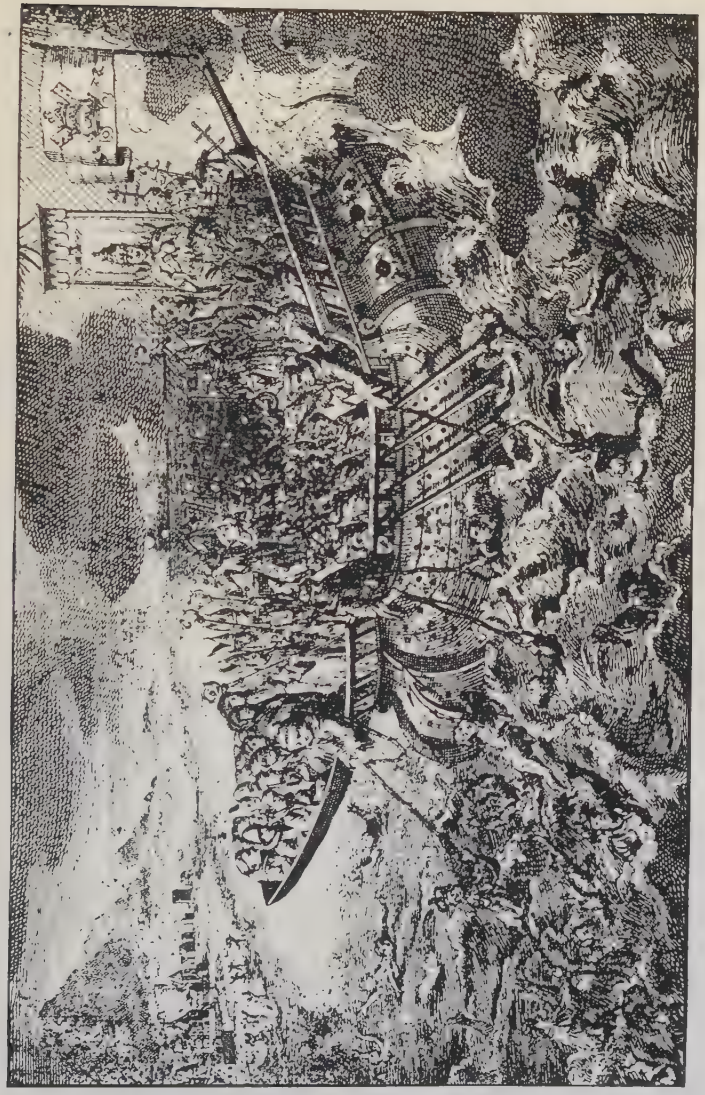
was the fall thereof. The papacy was built on claims falsely based on Peter; Luther destroyed these claims by the truth really taken from Peter, the universal priesthood of all believers. (1 Pet. 2, 9.)

Every Christian is a priest of God — that is the spear-thrust into the heart of the papacy; that is the blow freeing the layman from the slavery of the clergyman; that is the sword in the hand of Luther, who, like a king, touched the kneeling commoner and said, "Arise, Sir Knight": that is the surgeon's lancet which cut the cancer from the vitals of Christianity; this is the formula that destroyed the deadly spell of the papacy and created the modern world; not Erasmus, but Luther, gave a place to stand to the whole modern civilization; with his "Alone by Faith!" Luther became the liberator.

The Swiss Glareanus sang the praises of this battle-cry of freedom to Zwingli. That preacher of Basel sensed the situation, who in a procession carried a Bible with the legend, "The Bible, that is the true relic; all others are dead men's bones."

The Kaiser's confessor, the French Franciscan Glapion, could not believe the work was written by Luther; on reading it, he felt "as if one had scourged him from head to foot." In Rome Katharinus attacked it with his pen; at Paris the University condemned it; at London King Henry VIII wrote a book against Luther's book, for which the Pope gleefully gave him the title "Defender of the Faith," a title still cherished by the kings of England.

Bugenhagen, the rector of Treptow, in Pomerania, read it and angrily flung it to the ground, "No worse heretic has ever attacked the Church"; but he picked it up, studied the arguments, and said, "The whole world is blind: Luther alone sees the truth!" He became the pastor of the City Church at Wittenberg. Hadrian of Utrecht, later Pope Hadrian VI, wrote against it. Thomas Murner of Strassburg called Luther "the German Catiline," the man who



THE CLERGY IN THE SHIP OF THE CHURCH, THE LAITY IN THE WATER.
By a Venetian Monk.

would destroy his own country, and turned his Latin work into German in order to harm the terrible monk with the people; but it proved a boomerang. Pallavicini saw in Luther only a wild cyclop, a bull in a china shop. Everything before this could be forgiven, thought Erasmus, but this book was the unpardonable sin. At Worms Aleander based on it his demand for the condemnation of the heretic. From Rome to London was felt the earthquake in the Church caused by the pen of this terrible monk. Preserved Smith says: "The doctrines it taught have become fundamental to all reformed systems of theology."

III. "On the Freedom of a Christian Man"

is the third monumental work to come from the pen of Luther in the one year of 1520. It is a lark that soared to heaven from the musical soul of Luther, and in the blue ethereal heights sang a song, sweet and strong, a two-part song of faith and of love, in a perfect blend, faith which worketh by love, so clear and pure and distinct as to be heard with rapturous joy all over the world to the present day.

Unmoved by the rumbling thunder and the flickering lightning on the southern horizon, Luther serenely played this pastoral symphony, the pure and perfect expression of his inmost soul, which kept its poise amid the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds.

"A Christian man is a free lord of all things and subject to none," is the clarion defiance of royal faith.

"A Christian man is the free servant of all things and subject to all," is the willing subjection of loyal love. These two truths are sharply separated, and then their relation is shown. Heaven is a gift through faith; faith proves its thanks by works of love.

"So we must be sure the soul can lack all things bar God's Word, and outside God's Word nothing can profit the soul. But if the soul has the Word of God, it lacks nothing more; but in the Word has all sufficiency, food,

joy, peace, light, art, righteousness, truth, wisdom, freedom, and every good in plenty."

Luther says: "I wrote so much that . . . I weakened myself, so that I could not sleep, and Dr. Esch had to give me a sleeping-powder, the effects of which I still feel in my head."

The effects of his three writings the whole world still feels in the head and heart, and the whole modern civilization is based on the principles laid down in these three great Reformation writings.

Dr. Henry Wace, Principal of King's College, London, published these three great works of Luther of 1520 in English under the title, "First Principles of the Reformation," and says: "From them, and by means of them, the whole of the subsequent movement was worked out. It ought never to be forgotten that for the assertion of the principles themselves, we, like the rest of Europe, are indebted to the genius and the courage of Luther. It was one thing for Englishmen, several decades after 1520, to apply these principles; it was another thing to be the Horatius of that vital struggle. These grand facts speak for themselves, and need only to be understood in order to justify the unprecedented honors now being paid to the Reformer's memory.

"The result was a burst of new life wherever the Reformation was adopted, alike in national energies, in literature, in all social developments, and in natural science."

Bishop Thorold of Rochester, England, writes: "England loves his memory; for what has not he done for her national and religious life? The free millions of the United States may well rise up and do him honor by cherishing his example, pondering his history, and maintaining his creed."

The Bull.

"Arise, O God, and plead Thine own cause; remember how the foolish man reproacheth Thee daily. The foxes would destroy the vineyard Thou hast given Thy vicar Peter, a wild

boar of the forest uproots it, a wild beast devours it. . . . Arise, Peter! Arise, Paul! Arise, all the company of Saints and all the holy Church" — against Luther. Follow forty-one statements of Luther which are now condemned to be burned as heresy.

THE BULL OF LEO X.

Sixty days' grace are given the heretic to recant. If he does not recant, he must be punished. How punished? That may be learned from the 33d condemned heresy of Luther—"To burn heretics is against the Holy Ghost."

Fire was to be the fate of Luther. This is the most famous, or infamous, of all papal bulls: it was the entering wedge to divide Christendom into Catholicism and Protestantism.

It was signed by the luxurious Leo while this mighty Nimrod and hunter before the Lord was enjoying the papal sport of hunting sows at his Villa Magliana on June 15, 1520. Eck brought the bull to Germany to publish it in triumph and with personal pride. But the heroic papal nuncio soon sensed a change in the weather. At Leipzig, where a short year ago he had been hailed and acclaimed, he was now hooted and nearly booted. The students tore copies of the bull from Eck and threw them into the Elbe, and Rector Mosellanus

had to beg them not to abuse the papal nuncio, who sought safety in the Dominican cloister, where Tetzel had to hide and where he died. At Erfurt even the University refused to receive the bull; the students threw copies of it into the Gera; they besieged Tetzel's house, and the proud champion was glad to escape from the city with his life.

On December 10, 1520, Luther strode out of the Elster Gate, and laid the Pope's Canon Law and Decretals on a heap of fagots, which a Master lighted. When the flames flared up, Luther also threw in the bull threatening excommunication, and as he did this, uttered the words: "Because you have grieved the Holy One of God, the eternal fire consume you."

The next day Luther said to the students: "Unless with all your heart you declare yourselves out of the realm of the Pope, you cannot be saved. Beware, every one that loves his soul, lest he deny Christ in siding with the followers of the Pope."

He writes to Spalatin: "In the year 1520, on the tenth of December, at the ninth hour, were burned at Wittenberg, at the east gate, near the sacred cross, all the books of the Pope: the Decree, the Decretals, the Extravagant of Clement VI, and the latest Bull of Leo X."

Could Thucydides or Tacitus be more calm and concise?

It reads like a record of a Babylonian king graven in granite, or like Julius Caesar giving an account of a battle in his iron language.

For centuries Church and State had burned heretics. "To burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Ghost," rang Luther's solo clear and high against the world. The Pope condemned that protest as heresy at that day, and the Pope condemns that protest as heresy to this day! To this day the Pope says, if he had the power, he would burn heretics! "It is a heresy to say that a Pope has ever been in error."

LUTHER BURNING THE BULL.
After Prof. Lessing.

"To burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Ghost," is the charter of intellectual and moral freedom for mankind.

Luther's enemies were lashed into furious indignation by this act; his friends were appalled. Was it the reckless daring of a madman? Luther says he first trembled, and then prayed, and then rejoiced over this act more than over any other. Here was Christian courage, moral heroism. The Pope burned Luther's writings, and Luther burned the Pope's writings.

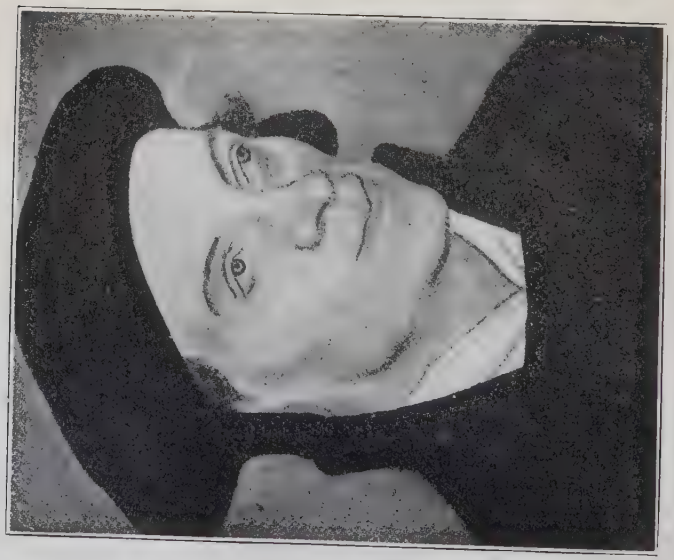
And the Pope was the vicar of Christ on earth, and could command for the suppression of heresy the swords of all the kings of Christendom. Luther burned the Pope's bull. This was Luther's *Auto da fé*, Luther's Act of Faith.

On January 3, 1521, the Pope, in the bull "Decet Romanum pontificem," excommunicated the "heretic" Luther personally. The bull was, however, so full of errors that the papal nuncio Aleander at Worms returned it to Rome for corrections. On May 6th the revised "holy curse" arrived at Worms.

When Luther was banned by the Pope, Hutten invited Luther for protection to the Ebernburg of Sickingen, the head of the German knights, who complained of being oppressed by the princes, secular and spiritual. Luther declined to mingle his religion with politics.

In all the world Luther stood alone, "as a field flower," but with his single pen he created the Fourth Estate, the power of the printing-press, and with that the modern Tribune mobilized the plain people. Never was a lordly patron of the press who prospered it so much as Luther, in the forefront of the greatest authors of the world. Whatever he wrote was a best seller. Glarean wrote Zwingli one dealer at the Frankfort Fair in 1520 sold 1,400 copies of Luther's works, which had never before happened with any other author. Every one speaks well of Luther. John Froben, the famous printer of Basel, wrote Luther on Feb-

ERASMUS.



SPALATIN.

ruary 14, 1519, that his books were going to Italy, Spain, France, Brabant, and England. "We have sold out all your books except ten copies, and never remember to have sold any more quickly."

In May, 1520, Erasmus wrote to Melanchthon: "It was decided that his [Luther's] books should be burned in England, but I stopped this by writing letters to Cardinal Wolsey. . . . Almost all good men favor Luther. . . . Commend me to Luther. . . . Luther's answer to the condemnation of Cologne and Louvain wonderfully pleased me." And to Rector Platz of Erfurt: "Hitherto he has certainly profited the world." And to Pope Leo X, on September 13, 1520: "Luther wrote well on the Scriptures. It was above the mediocrity of my learning and talents" to write against him. Again: "It is much easier to conquer Luther with bulls and with smoke than with arguments. . . . There are many things in Luther's books which are worthy of being known. . . . All who have written against him have composed nothing worth reading. . . . Among those who wish Luther dead I see no good man. The letters of Adrian of Utrecht are full of bitterness; he favors disciples worthy of himself, vain, deceitful, ambitious, and revengeful." Again, to Dierex, in 1520: "A prominent Dominican said, 'Would that I could fasten my teeth in Luther's throat; I should not fear to go to the Lord's Supper with his blood on my mouth.'"

As early as March 8, 1521, Archbishop Warham wrote Cardinal Wolsey: Oxford "is infected with Lutheranism, . . . a thing pleasant to the Lutherans beyond sea, and a great encouragement, if the two universities . . . should embrace these heretical tenets. It would create a great scandal if all now suspected were brought up to London" (to be punished).

CHAPTER EIGHT.

Luther at Worms.

Karl Elected and Crowned.

When Kaiser Maximilian I died on January 12, 1519, Henry VIII of England also ran for the throne, but he had not the ghost of a chance. The papal party pulled wires for Francis I of France, and "the most Christian King" was willing to spend three million crown dollars for the honor. The honest German electors would not stay bought. Frederick of Saxony refused the crown, and favored the grandson of Max, and practically was the Warwick to make Karl the kaiser. It cost the youngster of nineteen years twelve million dollars to be elected unanimously on June 28, 1519, at the Reichstag at Frankfort. Let him who may take pride in the honest Germans in the good old times. The only one to come out with clean hands was Frederick of Saxony, who sternly forbade even his servants to accept a single ducat.

On October 23, 1520, the son of Philip the Handsome and Johanna the Monomaniac, a pale stripling, was crowned at Aachen as Kaiser Karl V. At the end of November he came to Worms for his first Reichstag, opened on January 27, 1521.

At the grave of Karl der Grosse, the first Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, his successor Karl V had sworn to obey the Pope and the Holy Roman Church, and as a strict Romanist he was minded to keep his oath. In his own countries of Belgium and Holland he promptly burned Luther's books. Excommunicated, Luther might be executed forthwith, but it was arranged first to give him a hearing. Would he go to Worms if called by the Kaiser?

"I will do what in me lies to be carried there sick, if I cannot go well. . . . He lives and reigns who preserved

HENRY VIII.

FRANCIS 1 OF FRANCE.

the three young men in the furnace of the Babylonian king. If He is unwilling to keep me, my life is a small thing compared with Christ's, who was wickedly slain to the disgrace of all and harm of many. . . . I will not flee, much less recant. So may the Lord Jesus strengthen me!" Not brutal bravado, but Christian courage to suffer martyrdom.

On January 4, Staupitz wrote Link: "Martin has undertaken a hard task, and acts with great courage enlightened by God. I stammer and am a child needing milk."

Aleander.

The Pope's chief legate was Girolamo Aleandro, librarian of the Vatican, an eloquent Latinist, who knew Greek and Hebrew, studied Chaldaic and Arabic, was versed in affairs, of great energy, about forty years old, one of the ablest men to serve the ends of the Pope. While at Worms, this personal representative of the Pope received the joyful news of the birth of a bouncing baby boy of the Lady Perilla Proana in the Campus Martius at Rome, the same lady who had already presented sons to two other gentlemen in 1514 and 1515. This chaste celibate father, on February 3, made a speech of three hours against Luther, and to this day the papists can really add nothing to his able indictment. Frederick asked Erasmus, had Luther erred? "Yes; he has erred in two points: in attacking the crown of the Pope and the bellies of the monks." The winged words flew through all Europe.

The Sentiment at Worms.

On March 6, the Kaiser sent a safe-conduct and a summons to Luther, the "honorable, dear, and pious, to obtain information about certain doctrines coming from you and certain books written by you."

"Honorable, dear, and pious!" snorted the disgusted Aleander, "this title they give to an open heretic against God and man. It's enough to drive a stone crazy, let alone a man." Politics certainly does make strange letters. and

who can blame the righteous wrath of the worthy and virtuous legate?

The Holy Father at Rome also received a jolt in his luxurious pleasures and went his legate one better: "Luther would not be received even in hell" — *ergo* he should not be received at Worms.

In a burst of confidence we must admit quite frankly that we can pick no flaw in Leo's logic. The Kaiser's agent at Rome, John Manuel, sent this bit of information on March 20, and at the same time advised his master to show favor to Luther, whom the Pope greatly feared. The Pope feared Luther, and the Pope's legate feared Luther.

Aleander wrote Cardinal Medici on February 8: "Nothing else is bought here except Luther's books, even in the imperial court. . . . A little while ago at Augsburg they were selling Luther's picture with a halo; it was offered without the halo for sale here, and all the copies were disposed of in a trice before I could get one."

That halo shows that, as Aleander says, "the people thought Luther sinless and infallible and having miraculous powers." He says nine-tenths of all Germany were for Luther, and the other tenth against the Pope. Only the Kaiser sided with Rome; were he to yield in the least, all Germany would fall away from the papacy. And even the Kaiser feared to use force on account of Elector Frederick, and from a desire to use Luther to bring the Pope to time. He went on to relate how the Kaiser had torn in pieces and thrown on the ground a letter from Luther asking for "impartial judges," and how the Kaiser took a personal part in drawing up an edict condemning Luther unheard, which was rejected by the Reichstag on February 19.

Aleander wrote Eck on February 17: "It is with great danger that I stay in Germany. . . . Not only men, but stocks and stones shout Luther's name. It is not remarkable that laymen should do so, but in this campaign the priests

are the leaders, not so much to favor Luther, that pernicious monster, as to spout forth from his mouth their long accumulated venom against the city of Rome and the priesthood."

Aleander calls Luther "the Antichrist," but too much of an ignoramus to be the author of the books going under his name. The Elector Frederick is "the infamous Saxon," a fat hog, with the eyes of a dog, which rarely look any one straight in the face, a basilisk and a fox, who supports Luther only because of the fame and prosperity he brings to the university and town of Wittenberg. Aleander owns he used flattery, threats, bribery, and falsehoods quite freely for the good of the Pope's cause. Also he earnestly urged the Pope to redress the crying abuses in the Church by an intelligent study of the Scriptures, "after the example of the Germans."

On March 13, the elegant Erasmus wrote: "I do not object if they wish Luther roasted or boiled; the loss of one man is small. . . . No one would believe how deeply Luther has crept into the minds of many nations, nor how widely his books have been translated into every tongue and scattered everywhere. . . . I do not plead Luther's cause, nor do I care how he is punished."

Quite Pilatically the puny and petty scholar washes his classical hands, and leaves Luther to his fate. Well, we can hardly blame a manikin for not being a man, nor can we really blame the feeble-minded intellectuals for regretting Erasmus hadn't led the Reformation.

On Maundy Thursday, March 28, the Pope, in the Bull *In Coena Domini* condemned Luther in so many words as an excommunicate heretic, and this was repeated from the pulpit every Maundy Thursday till 1770.

Luther's Journey to Worms.

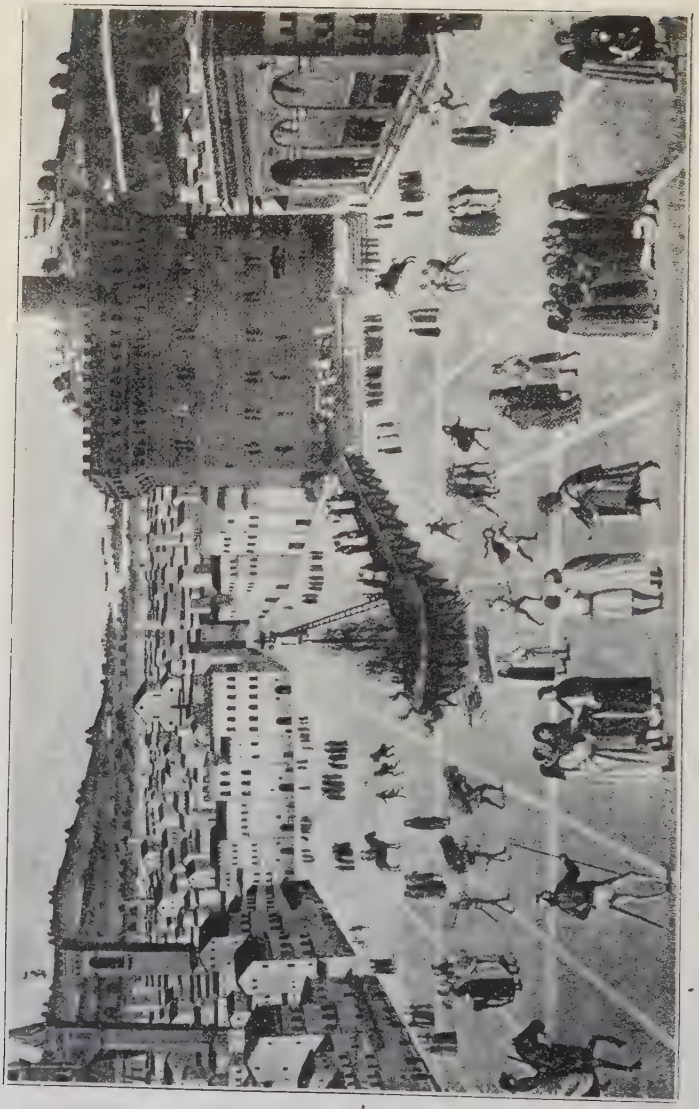
On April 2, Kaspar Sturm, the imperial herald, rode out of Wittenberg with the banner of the German Empire over his arm, followed by three horses and a wagon, furnished

by the magistrates of Wittenberg, in which rode the excommunicated monk with his cloister companion Petzensteiner; with Student Peter Swaven, a Pomeranian nobleman; with Amsdorf, who would as Squire Jerome go with the new Hus to be burned, for he had no safe-conduct, which touching

SAVONAROLA.

faithfulness Luther never forgot. The university gave twenty gulden for traveling expenses.

Leipzig presented the wine usually bestowed upon illustrious visitors. At Naumburg a priest presented a portrait of Savonarola, who had been burned by Pope Alexander VI. Finding Luther unafraid of the omen, the priest bade him plant his foot firmly on God's truth.



BURNING OF SAVONAROLA.

Rector Rubeanus Crotus of the Erfurt University headed forty horsemen to greet Luther near the city limits; among them Eobanus Hesse, who sang Luther's journey to Worms in Latin verse. On Sunday Luther preached to an immense crowd on salvation by grace through faith with such fervor that Eoban Hesse compared him to Demosthenes or Paul.

The traveler saw posted an edict of the Kaiser to burn Luther's works. He grew pale, for in that he saw his own death also. He pressed on; neither the death of Hus nor of Savonarola deterred him. From Frankfurt he wrote on the 14th: —

"I am coming, dear Spalatin, even if Satan tries to hinder me by a worse sickness than that from which I am now suffering; for I have been ill all the way from Eisenach, and am yet so ill as I have never been before. I know that the mandate of Karl has been published to scare me. Truly, Christ lives, and I shall enter Worms in the face of the gates of hell and the princes of the air." "And if they'll build a fire between Wittenberg and Worms that'll reach up to heaven, I'll still go on in God's name, and tread between the teeth in the mouth of Behemoth, and confess Christ!"

An attempt was made by Glapio to side-track him to Franz von Sickingen's Ebernburg, but Luther dryly said: "If the Kaiser's confessor has anything to say to me, he may do so in Worms." Had the trick worked, the safe-conduct would have expired, and Luther could have been done to death and not been able to appear at all at the Reichstag.

At Oppenheim, the last station before Worms, Spalatin in a letter warned him of the fate of Hus. "I'll on to Worms, and if there were as many devils there as shingles on the roofs."

Ever larger grew his escort. On April 16th the courtiers of the elector rode out of town to meet him, and were overjoyed to see the courage in his face.

Worms was dining at ten o'clock when the watchman

trumpeted the arrival of the begging friar in his monkish garb. All Worms jumped to its feet and crowded the streets. About two thousand escorted him to his lodgings with the Knights of St. John.

Aleander reports to Rome: "When Luther left the wagon, a priest embraced him, touched his gown three times, and, on leaving, boasted having handled a relic of the greatest saint. I suspect they'll soon say he performs miracles. This Luther, on getting down from the wagon, looked around with his demonic eyes and said, 'God will be with me!' Then he entered a room, where many lords looked him up, with whom he also dined, and after dinner all the world ran to see him."

Charles Beard says never did a conquering general have such a triumph in ancient Rome as Luther from Wittenberg to Worms. Erasmus wrote Jonas on May 10: "Luther has such favor from all men as I believe no mortal ever had before for centuries."

The next morning a sick man wished to see Luther. Even on that day he went to comfort him, and gave him the Lord's Supper. A characteristic touch — cool, calm, and collected amid the earthquake; always the self-sacrificing pastor.

Luther's First Appearance before the Reichstag.

On Wednesday, April 17, at 4 P. M., the imperial marshal, Ulrich von Pappenheim, and the imperial herald, Kaspar von Sturm, came to escort the notorious heretic to the bishop's palace, where Karl and Ferdinand were lodged and the Reichstag was in session; but they simply could not get through the dense crowds come to view the new Arius, and they had to pick their way through back yards and houses.

While Luther was waiting in a room from four to six, the celebrated Captain George Frundsberg tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Little monk, little monk, you are now walking a dangerous path to make a stand such as I and

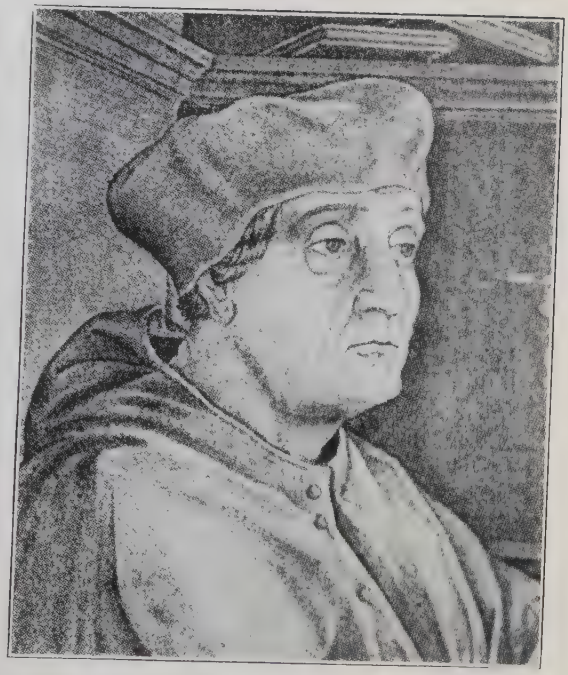
many a general have not made in the most desperate battles. But if you are in the right and sure of your cause, fare forth in God's name and be of good cheer. God will not forsake you." Others also heartened him to play the man, and not fear them who could only kill the body.

Aleander was scandalized to see the heretic enter with a smiling face, and let his eyes rove over the assemblage

THE BISHOP'S PALACE, WHERE THE REICHSTAG OF WORMS WAS HELD.

instead of showing the humility and fear befitting one in his situation. The monk spied his Augsburg host and cheerily greeted him. "What! Dr. Peutinger, you here, too? How are the mistress and the children?" But Pappenheim bade him speak only when questioned.

Luther faced one of the most brilliant assemblages Germany had ever seen. Here sat the pale, boyish Kaiser, the mighty monarch on whose vast dominions in Europe and America the sun never set. Even now Magellan was circling



ALEANDER.
After engraving by Agostino Veneziano.

GEORG VON FRUNDSBERG.

the globe and discovering the Philippine Islands; even now Cortez was winning Mexico; even now, right here at Worms, was an Indian from America (discovered by Columbus, but first pointed out to him by the German Martin Behaim on his globe). Here were six of the electors of the German

MARTIN LUTHER, 1521.
After Cranach.

realm, who elected the German Kaiser. Here were numerous princes and representatives of free cities, and dignitaries of the Church. Here were Aleander and Carraccilio, the personal representatives of Pope Leo X, "the vicar of Christ on earth." Fronting them all stood the lone monk Martin Luther. Two worlds faced each other.

The pale young Kaiser among the old scowling electors

and cardinals and black Spanish courtiers made the impression on Luther of an innocent lamb among dogs and devils, an impression he kept through life.

Johann von der Ecken, an official of Greiffenklau, the

KAISER KARL V.

After Michel Sithius. In Museum at Buda-Pesth.

Elector-Archbishop of Trier, asked him did he acknowledge the twenty books piled on a table published under his name, and would he stand by all of them, or revoke some?

"Let the titles be read!" broke in Jerome Schurf, Luther's legal adviser.

The notary Siebenberger read the titles.

"Your Imperial Majesty asks me two things, — first, whether these books are mine, and secondly, whether I will stand by them, or recant part of what I have published. First, the books are mine. I deny none of them. The second question, whether I will reassert all, or recant what is said to have been written without warrant of Scripture, concerns faith and the salvation of souls and the Word of God, than which nothing is greater in heaven or on earth, and which we all ought to reverence; therefore it would be rash and dangerous to say anything without due consideration, since I might say more than the thing demands, or less than the truth, either of which would bring me in danger of the sentence of Christ: 'Whoso shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father in heaven.' Wherefore I humbly beg Your Imperial Majesty to give me time to think, that I may answer without violence to the Word of God or peril to my soul."

Kaiser Karl had called Luther "to obtain information," and had not said a single word about recantation; now he refused information and demanded recantation. In view of this historical, documentary fact this speech of the unworldly monk before the worldly magnates was a finished masterpiece. It was not *finesse*, adroitness, slippery diplomacy; it was sheer, downright, manly honesty. Had he wished to recant, he could have recanted at home. He had not made the journey simply to plead "Guilty" or "Not guilty," he had come to explain and defend his teaching in public.

The Pope's legates and the Kaiser's counselors were surprised at the unexpected turn, and they were greatly annoyed that the disagreeable matter was not settled then and there. After some hesitation they sullenly granted a delay of twenty-four hours.

That same night Luther wrote John Cuspinian at Vienna: "Not a single dot will I retract, if Christ grants me grace."

"If Christ grants me grace" — no bully bravado there, but Christian courage.

The same night he was overheard on his knees, making his famous prayer to God for help in God's cause. The night was spent in consultation, so that he got no sleep at all.

The next day he was kept waiting in an anteroom amid bustling throngs from 4 to 6 P. M.! Studied disrespect?

When Luther was at last led into the crowded hall, the torches had already been lighted. The two papal nuncios were conspicuous by their absence.

After some insolent remarks von der Ecken asked Luther, "Do you wish to defend all of your books or to retract some of them?"

Follows the speech of Luther in substance as written by himself afterwards.

Luther's Speech at Worms.

"Most Serene Emperor, Most Illustrious Princes, Most Clement Lords! At the time fixed yesterday I obediently appear, begging for the mercy of God, that Your Most Serene Majesty and Your Illustrious Lordships may deign to hear with clemency this cause, which, I hope, may be called the cause of justice and truth; and if by my inexperience I should fail to give any one the titles due him, or should make a break against the etiquette of the court, please forgive me, as a man who has lived not in courts, but in monastic nooks, one who can say nothing for himself but that he has hitherto tried to teach and to write with a sincere mind and an eye single to the glory of God and the edification of Christians.

"Most Serene Emperor, Most Illustrious Princes! Two questions were asked me yesterday. To the first, whether I would recognize that the books published under my name were mine, I gave a plain answer, to which I hold and will hold forever, namely, that the books are mine, as I published them, unless perchance it may have happened that the guile or meddlesome wisdom of my opponents has changed some-

LUTHER AT WORMS.
After Werner.

thing in them. For I only recognize what has been written by myself alone, and not the interpretation added by another.

"In reply to the second question I beg Your Most Sacred Majesty and Your Lordships to be pleased to consider that all my books are not of the same kind.

"In some I have treated piety, faith, and morals so simply and evangelically that my adversaries themselves are forced to confess that these books are useful, innocent, and worthy to be read by Christians. Even the Bull, though fierce and cruel, states that some things in my books are harmless, although it condemns them by a judgment simply monstrous. If, therefore, I should undertake to recant these, would it not happen that I alone of all men should damn the truth which all, friends and enemies alike, confess?

"The second class of my works assails the papacy as that which both by precept and example has laid waste all Christendom, body and soul. No one can deny or hide this fact, since general complaints witness that the consciences of all believers are snared, harassed, and tormented by the laws of the Pope and the teachings of men, and especially that the goods of this famous German nation have been and are devoured in numerous and ignoble ways. Yet the Canon Law provides — *e. g.*, distinctions IX and XXV, questions 1 and 2 — that the laws and doctrines of the Pope contrary to the Gospel and the Fathers are to be held erroneous and rejected. If, therefore, I should withdraw these books, I would strengthen tyranny, and open windows and doors to their impiety, which would then flourish and thrive more freely than it ever dared before. It would come to pass that their wickedness would go unpunished, and therefore would become more licentious through my recantation, and their domination of the people, thus confirmed and established, would become intolerable, especially if they could boast that I had recanted with the full authority of Your Sacred and Most Serene Majesty and of the whole Roman Empire. Good God! In that case I were the tool of iniquity and tyranny.

"In the third kind of books I have written against some private individuals who tried to defend the Roman tyranny and tear down my pious doctrine. In these I confess I was more bitter than becoming a minister of religion. For I do not pose as a saint, nor do I discuss my life, but the teaching of Christ. Yet neither is it right for me to revoke what I have said in these, for then tyranny and impiety would rage and reign against the people of God more violently than ever by reason of my giving in.

"As I am human and not God, I wish to enter no other defense of my teaching than the one put forth by the Lord Jesus when He was questioned before Annas and smitten by a servant: He then said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.' If the Lord Himself, who knew that He could not err, did not scorn to hear testimony against His teaching from a miserable servant, how much more should I, the dregs of men, who can do nothing but err, seek and hope that some one should bear witness against my teaching. I therefore beg by God's mercy that if Your Majesty or Your Illustrious Lordships, from the highest to the lowest, can do it, you should bear witness and convict me of error and conquer me by proofs drawn from the Gospels or the Prophets, for I am most ready to be taught, and when convinced, will be the first to throw my books into the fire.

From this I think it is plain enough that I have carefully considered and weighed the discords, perils, strife, and dissension stirred up by my teaching, concerning which I was gravely and earnestly admonished yesterday. To me the happiest side of the whole affair is that the Word of God is made the object of emulation and dissent. For this is the course, the fate, and the result of God's Word, as Christ says, 'I am come not to send peace, but a sword, to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother.' We must consider that our God is wonderful and terrible in His counsels. Should we begin to heal our strife by damning the Word of God, we should only turn loose an unbearable

deluge of woes. Let us take care that the rule of this noble youth, Prince Karl, — in whom, next to God, there is much hope, — does not begin badly. For I could show by many examples drawn from Scriptures that, when Pharaoh and the king of Babylon and the kings of Israel thought to pacify and strengthen their kingdoms by their own wisdom, they really only ruined themselves. For He taketh the wise in their own craftiness and removeth mountains, and thek know it not. We must fear God. I do not say this as if Your Lordships needed either my teaching or my admonition, but because I could not shirk the duty I owed Germany.

"With these words I commend myself to Your Majesty and Your Lordships, humbly begging that you will not let my enemies make me hateful to you without cause.

"I have spoken."

Having spoken in Latin, Luther was now asked to repeat his speech in German. Noticing Luther had become fatigued in the dense crowd, the electoral counselor von Thun broke in, "If you cannot do it, that will do, Doctor." But Luther did as he was bid. In a free translation he repeated his speech in German, so that he was understood even by the common people, who often expressed their approval.

No wonder! What wonderful words! The condemned heretic spoke as if he were the prosecuting attorney; he hurled the rebuke of outraged Germany at the guilty head of the papacy; he spoke as Nathan to David, as Elijah to Ahab, as Paul to Felix, as Christ to the Sanhedrin and to Pilate.

Von der Ecken said with angry face: "Luther, you have not answered to the point. You ought not to question what has been decided and condemned by councils. Therefore I beg you to give a simple, plain answer without horns. Will you revoke or not?"

Luther fired back: "Since Your Majesty and Your Lordships ask for a plain answer, I will give you one without either horns or teeth. Unless convinced by Scripture or

plain reasons, — for I believe neither the Pope nor the councils alone, since it is certain they have often erred and contradicted one another, — I am overcome by the Scriptures quoted and my conscience is bound in God's Word, I cannot and will not revoke anything, for it is unsafe and dishonest to act against conscience."

The rejection of the Council of Constance seemed such an enormity that the Kaiser through Ecken asked Luther once more whether he really believed a council could err.

Luther said yes, and offered to bring proofs, and a real disputation was beginning, when the Kaiser said he had enough, hastily arose, and thus quickly ended the matter. In the general uproar Luther shouted, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me! Amen."

"To the fire with him!" was the farewell yell of the Spaniards to Luther. The Germans broke into applause.

Some deny Luther said these words; none deny he acted these words. He stood! And what Phillips Brooks calls the finest monument in Europe stands in Worms to celebrate the historical fact that he stood, stood alone against Pope and Kaiser, against death and hell.

After Efforts.

On leaving the Reichstag, Luther, after the manner of victorious Landsknechte, raised his arms and shouted, "I am through! I am through!"

His hotel was crowded with admiring friends. Even the Romanist Duke Eric of Brunswick sent him a refreshing drink of Eimbeck beer. Martin said, "As Duke Eric has remembered me on this day, may God in mercy remember him in his last day!"

"He'll never make a heretic of me," said the Kaiser disdainfully, and expressed his surprise such a man should write such books. Yes, Karl, looks — and books — are deceiving.

LUTHER MONUMENT AT WORMS.
By Rietschel.

On the 19th Karl declared he was ready to lay down his life and crown for the maintenance of the religion of his fathers, and for the extirpation of the heresy so obstinately held by this erring monk, in opposition to the whole of Christendom; and he regretted not having sooner taken measures to repress it.

The papists worked on the Kaiser to break his word of honor and burn Luther, but Karl did not wish to blush like Sigismund, who had broken his imperial safe-conduct and treacherously burned Hus at Constance.

Mayhap the presence of Sickingen's armed men helped Karl to keep his honor.

The Elector Frederick now was rather proud of his monk and said, "Well did Doctor Martin speak before the Kaiser and all princes and estates in Latin and in German; he is much too bold for me!"

Bold? Bold indeed! Considering all the persons and all the circumstances and all the issues and all the blessed results, this is the greatest speech of the world since the days of Christ and His Apostles. And yet Luther later blamed himself for not having been bold enough! — for holding himself in check on the pressing advice of Frederick's councilors!

According to the agreement reached before Luther was called, Karl now wished to have sentence at once passed on the obstinate heretic. In view of his promise to retract if convinced of his errors, influential Catholic members of the Reichstag objected, and insisted on trying to convince or persuade the influential monk. They hoped to use him to reform the abuses in the Church. So good a Catholic as Duke George of Saxony came with a long list of complaints against the Pope and the clergy. A committee drew up "One Hundred and Two Grievances" against the papacy.

For over a week, day and night, with these tactics and that strategy, in pitched argumentative battle and in familiar

after-dinner talk, they worked on Luther to recant his teaching and help destroy the Pope's tyranny — all to no avail. Luther stood "like a rock," one of his opponents said with great disgust.

Luther said he had attacked the Pope not because of his bad life, but because of his false teaching. The Word of God must not be bound, and he would preach it whatever the consequences.

When they could not use him for their purpose against the Pope, they dropped him.

Ponder the purity of Luther's character in this crisis. The outlook for a death by fire loomed up before him on the one hand, on the other, powerful Catholics were building a golden bridge to retreat to safety and to honor. All he had to do was to disown the words connecting him with Wyclif and Hus, then many good Catholics would rally round him to redress the grievous grievances of the Germans against the Italians. Luther kept his head and his heart firm, kept his conception and his conscience clear; he said, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" Here was purity of soul, he would not stoop to fight the very Antichrist with questionable weapons. And it was the only road to success. Many before Luther had attacked the corrupt practises of the papacy, and failed; Luther alone attacked the false teaching of the papacy, and succeeded.

Luther Leaves Worms.

With the Kaiser's safe-conduct, good for sixty days, on April 26, 10 A. M., Luther left Worms as he had entered, admired by crowds and escorted by horsemen.

Two days later he wrote from Frankfurt to Cranach the complete history of the historic Reichstag of Worms.

"Are these books yours?"

"Yes."

"Will you revoke them?"

"No."

"Then get out!"

Here is artistic perspective, power of compression, historical stenography, brevity, the soul of wit. Surely, Luther could, at call, write a short story.

At Hersfeld, in Hessen, the Prince Abbot headed a cavalcade of knights and other large military escort to greet the damned and banned monk, gave him a good supper and then his own bed, and next day had the heretic preach. In his dear old Eisenach he also preached; also at Mochra, the old home of the Luther clan, where he spent a day with his kin.

As his wagon was lumbering up the wooded pass to the crag of Castle Altenstein, on May 4, suddenly five horsemen, two masked, galloped up with raised weapons and called, "Halt!"

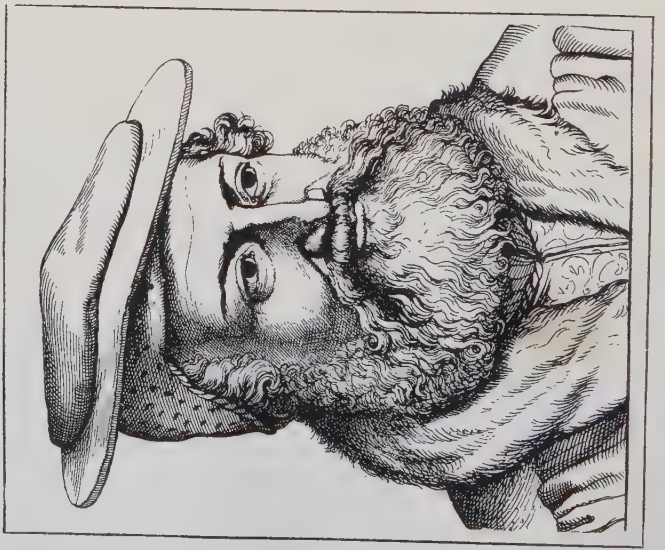
The driver took to the woods, Petzensteiner took to the woods, Amsdorf took to the woods, the knights took Luther and took to the woods.

All trace of Luther was lost; it seemed the earth had yawned and swallowed him up. Rumor ran the rounds his corpse had been found; his friends feared he had fallen a prey to the Romanists. Great lamentation throughout the land! Albrecht Duerer, the most famous German artist, entered in his diary: "O God, is Luther dead, who will henceforth teach us the holy Gospel so clearly? O God, how much more he could have written in ten or twenty years! Oh, all pious Christian men, help me diligently bewail this God-inspired man, and pray God to send us another such enlightened man!"

The Edict of Worms.

The most important state-paper of the German Kaiser was written by the legate of the Roman Pope; on May 26th Karl signed the celebrated Edict of Worms in the Cathedral of Worms. He signed it laughingly, — he was only

ALBRECHT DUERER.



HANS SACHS.

twenty-one. "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!" (Eccl. 10, 16.)

The edict calls Luther the "devil in a monk's cowl," who taught riot, schism, war, murder, robbery, infidelity, and a lawless, bestial life; all the old damned heresies he had gathered into one stinking cesspool, and added some new ones.

On pain of the severest penalties everybody was bidden not to house, shelter, feed, water, or in any way help the heretic, but rather take and deliver him to the Kaiser. His followers were to be arrested, and they were to forfeit their goods. His books were to be burned.

There was not a single word about indulgences, the cause of all the trouble. Who was whipped, the Pope and the Kaiser on their thrones or the damned and banned monk?

Napoleon thought had Karl at Worms sided with Luther and headed a united Germany, he could have conquered Europe. He did neither, and so missed the chance of his life.

Carlyle writes: "The Diet of Worms, Luther's appearance there on the 17th of April, 1521, may be considered as the greatest scene of modern European history; the point, indeed, from which the whole subsequent history of civilization takes its rise. The world's pomp and power sits there, on this hand; on that, stands up for God's truth, one man, the poor miner, Hans Luther's son. One petition — the petition of the world to him was: 'Free us; it rests with thee; desert us not.' Luther did not desert us. It is, as we say, the greatest moment in the modern history of men."

THE WARTBURG IN THE DAYS OF LUTHER.

CHAPTER NINE.

Luther at the Wartburg.

Friends had sent the armed horsemen to take the outlaw in secret for safety to the Wartburg, where he was known as Junker Georg, Sir Knight George. He doffed his monk's cowl and donned the garb of a knight; he affected a belt and a sword and wore a gold chain around his neck; he grew a beard and let the hair grow over his tonsure; two pages of gentle blood and an armed guard attended him.

Did he think of St. Killian, who came from Ireland about 600 to plant the Gospel in these parts? Or of the Venerable Bede, who labored for the conversion of the Germans? Or of the English women, Thekla of Wimborne, and Walburgis, who labored in this region?

Did he dream about the strife of the Minnesingers, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walther von der Vogelweide, and Klingsohr of Siebenbuergen ending the contest in 1207? Did he dream of Tannhaeuser and the Venusberg when he looked at the bare ridge of the Hoersel? Did he dream of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who was betrothed when four to Louis of Thueringen when he was eleven?

He watched the gambols of the lambs, the flight of the doves, the colliers' fires by day and their smoke by night, and thought of the pillar of fire and of smoke in the wilderness; the smell of new-mown hay and of thyme was in his nostrils, and the music of the birds in his ears; at night the bats came out, and he heard the ravens and the owls. He picked wild strawberries, and once the captain of the castle, Hans von Berlepsch, got him to go hunting. A hunted hare jumped for safety into Luther's cloak, but the dogs killed it — "just as the furious papists hunt and kill the poor Gospel." Yes, a poet's eye sees poetry everywhere. And he thought it more manly and knightly to hunt lions

LUTHER TAKEN TO THE WARTBURG.
After Thumann.

and tigers than poor partridges and rabbits. Yes, he was no pot-hunter; he had the true sporting-blood in his veins. Think of the damned and banned outlaw hugging poor Bunny! There is a tender heart in that Gibraltar, as tender and as poetical as that of Bobby Burns when his plowshare turned up a mouse —

"Wee, sleekit, cowrin', tim'rous beastie."

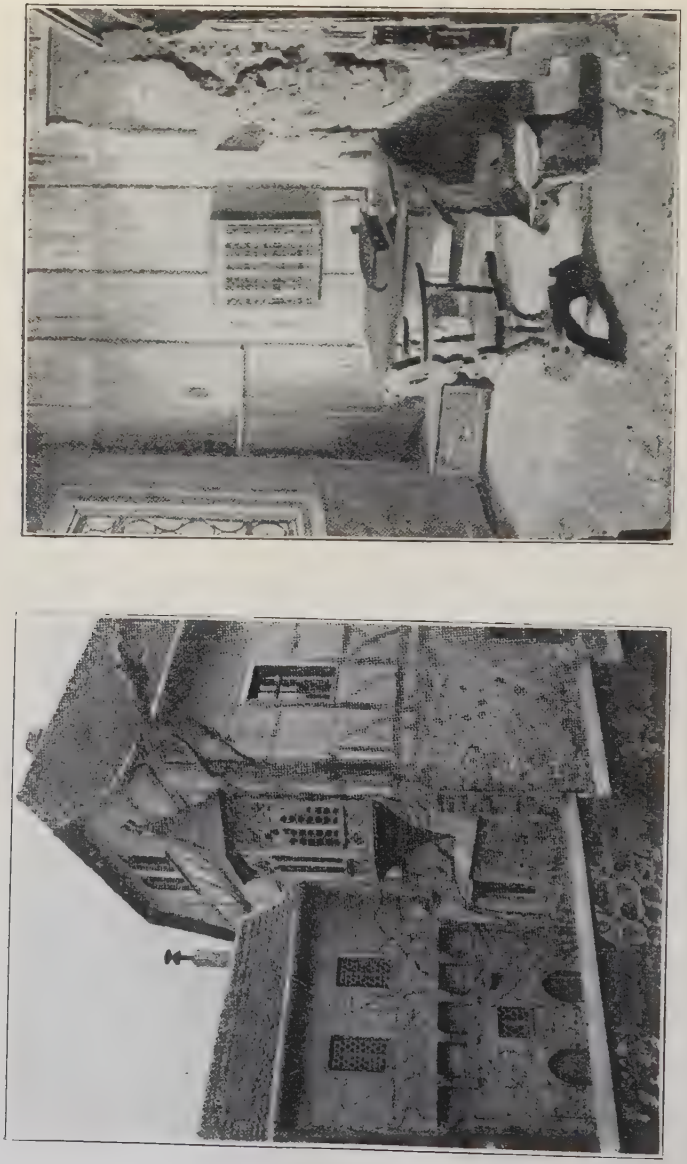
Luther could not pass the time in such pastime, and he found his pastime in hard work. In about nine months he finished three interrupted works and about ten new ones, among them a volume of sermons — "my very best book." Indeed, this book began the new era of the Protestant pulpit, the first swallow to herald the coming summer of Gospel-sermons.

"I am very idle, and still, at the same time, very busy, learning Hebrew and Greek and writing without end. The warden treats me far better than I deserve. The trouble with which I suffered at Worms has not left me, but got worse, for I am more constipated than I ever was, and despair of a remedy." Owing to the unaccustomed rich fare and his sedentary habits his body once did not function for half a week.

The poor monk felt oppressed by the kind care shown him. "It is my nature to be afraid of burdening people when perhaps I do not, but such a scruple becomes an honorable man." High-strung, high-toned, high-minded, this "German beast and boor"!

A story of later origin goes that one night he saw the devil and boldly hurled the oaken inkstand at him; and to this day they show where it struck the wall.

Carlyle says: "A most small sneer has been grounded on it by some . . .; but the man's heart that dare rise defiant, face to face, against Hell itself, can give no higher proof of fearlessness. The thing he will quail before exists not on this earth or under it. Fearless enough!"



LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WARTBURG.

Luther hurled his inkstand at another devil. Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz was still in need of money. Luther had queered Tetzel's confidence game of indulgences, and so a new scheme had to be gotten up to cop the coin by swindling the simple, superstitious people.

In 1519, Albrecht, the friend of Erasmus and Hutten, procured a papal bull granting indulgences to all seeking such grace at his relics at Halle. The printed catalog advertised hair of the Virgin Mary, and yarn spun by her, and six bottles of milk from her breasts; the basin in which Pilate had washed his hands; earth from Damascus from which God had created Adam, and from Hebron, where Adam had repented; manna from heaven fallen in the wilderness; a portion of Isaac's body; twenty-five pieces of Moses' burning bush; the finger Thomas thrust into the side of Christ; the arm of Luke that wrote his Gospel; the finger of John Baptist that pointed to Christ as the Lamb of God, etc., etc. — "8,933 portions and forty-two whole bodies: makes an indulgence of 39,000,000,245,120 years, 220 days." Holy humbug of the ecclessiastical Barnum!

Luther threatened the great cardinal if this "Idol at Halle" were not stopped within fourteen days, he would start a game with Albrecht such as Germany had not yet seen, even if four kaisers should be on his side.

What happened? The proud Hohenzollern prince, archbishop, and elector, and cardinal, meekly promised to be good! Such was the power of one letter of the damned and banned Luther!

The banned and damned Luther wrote "On Monastic Vows," and dedicated it to his father. In it he undermines the foundations of all monkery. He held it one of his most important books, and it had an enormous sale and wide influence in his day. In our day an eminent Catholic scholar thought it worth his while to "refute" it point by point.

"Would that the Bible alone might be on the tongue and in the hands, the eyes, the ears, and the hearts of all men!

LUTHER PREACHING IN THE WARTBURG
After Vogel.

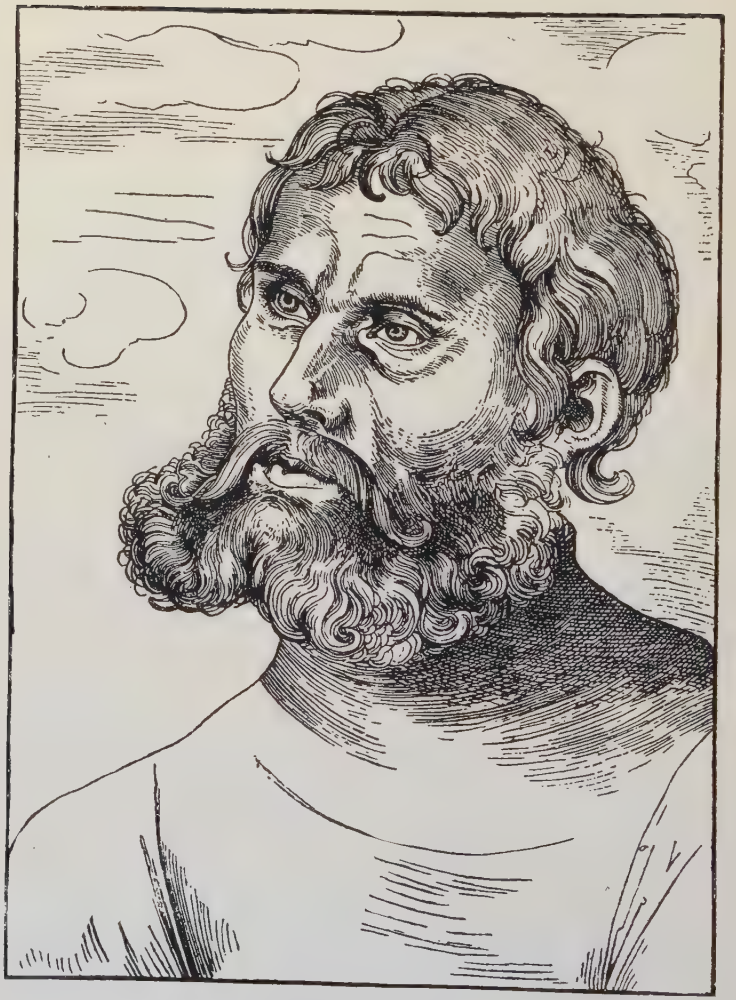
Would to God all explanations might perish and every Christian for himself read the bare text of Scripture and the pure Word of God!"

Very well; but how could every Christian read the Bible when he did not have it?

Quite so! And so, when 1522 began, Luther began to turn the Greek New Testament into German, though he feared the huge task was beyond his powers. In less than three months it was done — a titanic performance.

The Wartburg is famous in story for the contest of the Meistersingers and for St. Elizabeth, but much more so for Luther's labor there. When Carlyle went to Germany to study the battlefields of Frederick the Great, he turned aside to see the room in which Luther had translated the New Testament, "to me the most venerable of all rooms I ever entered. I kissed his old oak table," he wrote his mother, and on his return to London he told Baron Bunsen, "I think that little room in which Luther stood fighting God's battle against the whole world is the most sacred place on the earth." In his *Prinzenraub* he writes: "One feels . . . as if here, in fact, of all places that the sun now looks upon, were the holiest for a modern man. To me, at least, in my poor thoughts, there seemed something of authentically divine in this locality, as if immortal remembrances and sacred influences and monitions were hovering over it, speaking sad, and grand, and valiant things to the hearts of men."

Coleridge "can scarcely conceive a more delightful volume than might be made from Luther's letters, especially those from the Wartburg." Margaret Currie translated selected Letters of Martin Luther, and Preserved Smith has translated a volume of Luther's Correspondence. Luther is one of the world's mightiest men of letters, and the heart of this Pauline man lies in them open to the eye to be studied by all the world.



SIR KNIGHT GEORGE.
After Cranach.

CHAPTER TEN.

Luther and the Anabaptists.

While Luther was in his Patmos of the beautiful old Gothic castle of the Wartburg, false and foolish friends were undoing his work at Wittenberg.

In October the monk Gabriel Zwilling forced monks with insults and threats to leave the cloister. Prof. Carlstadt so preached against the Mass that on December 3d priests were stoned and an altar in the Franciscan convent destroyed by about forty students. They would reform outward things before the minds and hearts of the people were ripe for the change.

When rumors of these riots reached Sir Knight George early in December, he took one servant and secretly rode through the danger zone of Duke George's lands straight to Wittenberg to the house of Von Amsdorf, where Melanchthon also lived at the time. After talking over the situation and advising his friends for three days, Luther rode off as secretly as he had come.

Returned to the Wartburg, he wrote a "Warning to All Christians to Keep from Uproar and Sedition." Riots are a work of the devil; Christians labor only by word of mouth. No matter how right a man may be, he puts himself in the wrong by using force. "They that read aright and understand my teaching do not raise riots." This was in December of 1521 — note the date!

Things would likely have quieted down very quickly had it not been for the coming of the Heavenly Prophets from Zwickau.

At Zwickau, near the Bohemian border, the people were influenced by the Hussites, Waldenses, and other radical and fanatical, dreamy visionaries and enthusiasts of the Middle Ages.

Nick Storch, a weaver, had direct talks with the angel

THOMAS MUENZER.

ANDREAS BODENSTEIN VON CARLSTADT.

Gabriel. He was backed by Tom Muenzer, the pastor of the principal church. Mark Stuebner, a former pupil of Melanchthon, was one of the most prominent converts. Since they were directly inspired by the Holy Ghost, they despised the Bible and all book-learning; they rejected Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper; all forms of divine worship were useless, etc. Storch surrounded himself with twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples and began to prophesy, just like Christ! Riots resulted. Pastor Nicholas Hausmann, a staunch friend of Luther's, debated with them, and the ringleaders were driven out of town.

Nick Storch, Mark Stuebner, and Tom Drechsel came to Wittenberg and stirred the dying embers of riot into wild flames. Principal George Mohr gave the boys a permanent vacation and the school was turned into a bakery. Prof. Carlstadt told the students to quit their books and learn a trade or farm; and many of the 1500 students did so. The Professor himself hied himself to Orlamuende at one time and stood barefooted on a dung-heap and pitched manure — one of the best things he ever did in his life. Vestments were torn, statues demolished, paintings destroyed, crucifixes broken and burned, confession was abolished, and people rushed to the Lord's Supper without due preparation.

Melanchthon was helpless, and wailed they were as sheep without their shepherd, and loudly called for the return of their Elijah. Elector Frederick the Wise was unwise; he would resign, take his staff, and leave the country as a poor beggar rather than "do anything against God." He thought the Zwickau fanatics were of God.

The ship was drifting to the rocks. Who was to do anything? On February 28, 1522, the Town Council of Wittenberg begged Squire George to return and end the anarchy, and bring order out of chaos. The Elector forbade Squire George's return, but he returned; in a glorious, heroic letter from Borna he told the Elector quite majestically why he returned.

On the third of March two students from Switzerland, Kessler and Spengler, trudged along the muddy road in a drenching rain, and at last found shelter in "The Black Bear" at Jena. On entering, they beheld a curious combination — a belted knight in doublet and hose and a red leather cap, his right hand on the hilt of his sword, his left holding a Hebrew Psalter! He greeted them and invited them to a place at his table, chatted with them, ate and drank with them, paid their bill, and bade them good night.

One of the students, John Kessler of St. Gall, writes the knight's walk was very erect, he leaned backward rather than forward, his face was lifted up to heaven, under black eyebrows he had deep black eyes, that twinkled and flashed like a star, so that you could hardly look into them.

Arriving at Wittenberg, they — lo and behold! — found their genial Knight Hospitaler, Dr. Luther.

On Sunday, March 9, Luther filled his pulpit in the City Church, to which he had been called, and risked his popularity as freely as he had risked his life. His eyes flashed fire, and his voice rang clear as a clarion. First, We are all the children of wrath. Second, Of pure grace God has given us His only-begotten Son. Third, We must show love; and here is where you have failed. Fourth, We need patience; not do what you have a right to do, but do what is good for your neighbor. And so from Sunday to Sunday. He said, "Peace, be still!" and there was a great calm. The master's voice was heard. Here was one of the greatest victories of oratory; if ever eloquence was a virtue, it was in this octave of sermons that quelled the religious riots of the excited Wittenbergers.

Carlstadt was never so much as named, much less blamed; yet he was completely subdued. Zwilling was reformed and given a parish. Capito had run over from Halle to hear these sermons, and he now broke with Albrecht of Mainz and became a preacher of the Gospel. The

LUTHER IN "THE BLACK BEAR" AT JENA, MARCH, 1522.
After Thumann.

"Heavenly Prophets" of Zwickau were routed; they left, scolding and cursing Luther.

Glad to have back their "Elijah," the City Council sent him "a cup o' kindness" for the inner man and a new cowl for the outer man; also a present to Luther's father. Schurf wrote the Elector it was plain as day the Spirit of God worked in Luther, "and I have no doubt he is come to Wittenberg at this time by a special act of God, and he by God's help leads us poor misled people back upon the way of truth by a plain showing up of our error."

Under date of March 29, Albert Burer wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: "Martin Luther returned to restore order. . . . He is a man in whose face one may read benevolence, charity, and cheerfulness; his voice is mild and mellow; his delivery very graceful. Whoever has heard him once will wish to hear him again."

Luther tore himself loose from his labors at Wittenberg to pursue the routed enemy. To great multitudes he preached in Borna, in Altenburg, in Eilenburg, in Zwickau, the hotbed of the wild movement; here he preached from a window of the courthouse to a throng of 25,000 hearers. Later he went to Erfurt to preach three times, and did much to pour oil on the troubled waters.

Of course, for all these riots the blameless Luther was blamed, — of course.

The riot spread. A campaign of fire and sword was preached against the papists and the Lutherans. Luther was called "that arch-heathen, arch-rascal, snake, and basilisk, worse than the Pope."

Carlstadt went to Orlamuende and turned things topsy-turvy, and made the peasants fanatical. When Luther came there, they drove him away with stones and mud: "Go hence in the name of a thousand devils, lest you have your neck broken before you leave!"

On August 22, 1524, Luther met Carlstadt at Jena, and in his cavalierly manner gave him leave to attack him.

"The more ably you attack me, the better I like it"; and Luther gave him a gold gulden, and a handshake to bind the bargain.

The revolutionary movement spread. The Duke of Bavaria issued the summary sentence: "Who retracts will be beheaded, who retracts not will be burned." The Reichstag of Speyer in 1529 decreed to burn or behead all Anabaptist preachers without a trial. Of course, many men marched to martyrdom innocently.

Luther put his pen to paper to protest against this atrocious action. He demanded freedom of faith, a free press, and free speech for all peaceable people. Let people preach what they will against whom they will. Fight them with the Bible, not with the stake and the sword, and let the best man win.

Bancroft writes in his *United States History:* "Luther alone has the glory of forbidding to fight for the Gospel with violence and death."

Because these fanatics scoffed at infant baptism and insisted believers be again baptized, they were dubbed "Anabaptizers," or Anabaptists, since about 1525.

In 1534, such Anabaptists came to Muenster, in Westphalia, a town of about 15,000 inhabitants. They were John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, and John Matthias, or Matthisson, a baker of Harlem. Bernard Knipperdolling housed them. They gained control of the city. Knipperdolling was made burgomaster. On pain of death all gold, silver, jewelry was to be put into the courthouse. All books and works of art and musical instruments were destroyed. Everybody had to work for the government and eat a Spartan meal in common as one family. John Matthias, the baker, proclaimed himself the inspired prophet of God and expelled all "unbelievers," all who were not Anabaptists. They were robbed of their all and driven in a rainstorm through deep snow out of town, mothers with half-clad babes on their arms.

John Bockhold proclaimed himself King of the new

JOHANN VON LEYDEN.

BERNHARD KNIPPERDOLLING.

kingdom of Israel; he named twelve elders for the twelve tribes of Israel; he introduced polygamy by taking sixteen wives; little girls were violated; wild orgies were celebrated.

When Hubert Ruescher questioned the inspired prophecies of Matthisson, Bockhold — or Jan of Leyden, as he is commonly known — thrust his pike twice through the body of Ruescher, and the prophet Matthisson sent a bullet into his back. The people sang hymns to God and went home.

The tailor Bockhold deposed the Twelve Elders and proclaimed himself King of the World, having the throne and scepter of his father David. At a love-feast for 11,000 one of the Anabaptists had brought a captive soldier as his guest. The king saw he "had on no wedding garment," and with his own royal hand chopped off his head before all the banqueters. Executions were the order of the day; on June third alone fifty-two were done to death.

Philip of Hessen besieged the city. Famine stalked through the streets. One of the king's wives, Elizabeth Wandscherer, doubted it was God's will that the people should starve while the king gorged himself with luxuries. The King led her to the public square, made her kneel, and with his own hand chopped off her head, while all the other wives had to sing, "All glory be to God on high!" Those tottering for weakness from starving had to dance with the King!

On June 24, 1535, the city was betrayed to the besiegers; thousands were killed on both sides; only after the fourth day could Bishop Count Franz von Waldeck make his entry. The poor fanatics were cruelly tortured for a whole year, and then done to death with unspeakable tortures. The bodies of Knipperdolling and Krechtling were placed upright in iron cages and hung on the tower of St. Lambert's Church "to serve as a warning to all restless spirits."

Muenster was made so strongly Roman Catholic that it is a papal fortress to this day.

The Prophet of Meyerbeer is based on this prophet of Muenster.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Luther and the Peasant War.

"Poor Germany!" sighed dying Kaiser Max, for anarchy spread in spite of his life's efforts. His grandson and successor, Kaiser Karl V, on February 8, 1520, heard from Cardinal-Elector-Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, "We foresee so great a conflagration of the whole of Germany that we do not think the like will have been heard of in the past." True prophet of evil.

The Church had grabbed about one-third of all the land, and the pious priests plundered the poor peasants, who had to pay a tenth of everything, and then pay extra for extra services of the priest. The public property of the people had become the private property of the princes, and in course of time the free German peasant became the practical slave of the landlord. The nobles conducted the courts, and usually to the loss of the poor. If a man was caught hunting, he lost an eye; if he cut down a tree, he lost his head; if he carried off fuel, he was put in the stocks before a slow fire until the soles of his feet were burned. The princes forced the peasants to work for them in fair weather, and the poor fellows could gather their own crops only in bad weather. The lord let them drink no wine but from his own vineyard, grind no grain except at his own mill, eat no bread but that baked in his own bakery. When a man died, his only cow or horse went to the lord, no matter how sorely needed for the support of the widow and children. On a holiday the peasants were ordered to pick strawberries for the family of the lord. On a holiday, in 1525, the Count von Lupfen ordered his peasants to gather snail shells for the amusement of the people in the castle. That was once too often. Force is the last resort of princes — also of peasants. Goetz von Berlichingen compared himself and

the other knights to a pack of wolves devouring the sheep. In addition, the wealthy burghers with cancerous usury, leech-like, sucked the blood out of the peasants by demanding 30 and 40 per cent., and even a still higher rate of interest. Ground between the upper and the nether millstones of

GOETZ VON BERLICHINGEN.

princes and priests, the poor peasants were hard put to it to eke out a beggarly existence, especially when crops were short and the pest raged. Any wonder the worm turned? No wonder at all.

The princes used to sell the peasants to the sovereigns of Europe, and they became the famous *Landsknechte,* with many glorious victories to their credit.

Why not use their arms in their own defense? They formed leagues to protect themselves. They were incited to the propaganda of the deed by good Catholic preachers like the famous Geiler von Kaisersberg of Strassburg, "who invited the poor to hunt like wolves the monopolists who sucked the blood of the people."

Capitalistic production produced riots in Greece seven hundred years before Christ, as Thucydides writes. Such cruel oppression of the poor caused the famous walk-out in ancient Rome, and in Gaul under the Romans. Such conditions caused the terrible Jacquerie, the revolt of the peasants in Northern France, in 1358. Such conditions drove the peasants to revolt in 1381 under Richard II, when they were led by Wat Tyler. Such conditions caused the peasants to revolt around Worms in 1431; in Elsass in 1468 and in 1475, led by the "prophet" Hans Boehaim; in Kaernten in 1478; in Bayern and around Strassburg about 1486; in upper Germany and in Switzerland in 1499; in the Breisgau in 1502; around Freiburg in 1513, and in the Peasant War of 1524—1526, the greatest uprising of the masses in all German history.

Social and economic conditions caused all these uprisings. A religious element entered into them for a hundred years, from the days of Hus, as may be seen from the "Sachsenspiegel" and the "Schwabenspiegel." Luther had no more to do with this Peasant War than with all the ones before he was born. The preacher Schappeler influenced Sebastian Lotzer, who drew up the demands of the peasants in the Twelve Articles. Luther wrote his "Admonition to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Schwaben."

The "mild and gentle" Melanchthon justified the princes in all things, and condemned the peasants.

Luther boldly blamed the princes, secular and mainly spiritual, for the whole trouble, and called on them to be fair and just, and make reasonable concessions. "Govern-

ments are not to abuse the subjects, but to be of the best use to the subjects." He heartily and earnestly warns the peasants against force and riot; no matter how just their demands, riot is wrong. He protested against their abuse of the Gospel to enforce their demands, which were, all but one, political, social, and economic. These demands must be judged in the light of reason and according to natural law. He fought against mixing religion and politics, against turning the reformation into a revolution. "What kind of Christians are they that become robbers, thieves, and rogues for the sake of the Gospel? !"

We now recall that he had written in the same strain against violence as early as 1521 on the riots at Wittenberg; he was quite consistent. In the end he says both sides are in the wrong, and calls on them to settle the matter in peace by impartial judges.

Leonhard von Eck, the evil genius of the Swabian Bund, got the nobles to treat with the peasants, treat treacherously, treat only to gain time to gather a force to crush the peasants. The deceived serfs at Weinsberg fell on Count Ludwig von Helfenstein, the son-in-law of Kaiser Max. As they led him away, he fell; the witch Hoffmann tore him to pieces with her hands. Jack Rohsbacher would show how to treat the daughter of a kaiser — he threw her down and kneeled on her breast; another peasant threw his sword at her and wounded her babe; she was carted off on a load of dung.

Goetz von Berlichingen, he of the iron hand, became the leader of the peasants. All South Germany blazed up. The furious flame was fanned by the spirit of false religion blown into it by wild fanatics like Muenzer, who would set up the kingdom of Christ by killing all the "ungodly."

The revolt rolled from the Alps through Austria, Schwaben, Franken, Baden, Hessen, Thueringen. Castles, cloisters, churches, were plundered, desecrated, the wine was drunk, and the drunken "put the red rooster on the roof";

COUNT OF HELFENSTEIN KILLED BY THE PEASANTS.
After Metz.

they burned the buildings, forty cloisters in fourteen days. In mad fury atrocities of every kind were committed. Germany was hell with the lid off.

Luther risked his reputation and life going among the

DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.
After Cranach.

fanatical peasants and preaching to quell the riot till called to the bedside of the dying Frederick.

In this most terrible crisis, when the whole work of his reformation was at stake, the one Strong Man wrote "Against the Murdering and Robbing Hordes of the Peasants," in which he called on the government to offer fair and reasonable concessions. If they were rejected, the revolt was to

be put down by force of arms. In order to save the poor innocent ones from being forced into the riot, the government was to "stab, slay, kill" the rioters like mad dogs. Certainly fierce and ferocious language! "Think you this is hard? Think riot is intolerable."

LANDGRAVE PHILIP OF HESSEN.
After Cranach.

On May 5, the Count of Mansfeld scattered a small band of rioters at Osterhausen, and was thus the first one to strike a blow for order in Central Germany. The new Elector, John of Saxony, Duke George of Saxony, and Philip of Hessen gathered an army, and on May 15, 1525, defeated 8,000 rioters at Frankenhausen. Muenzer had crawled into a bed; he was hauled out; he turned Catholic

and took the Roman communion; he was beheaded at Muehlhausen. In all, about 150,000 peasants perished, and a large part of Germany was a waste.

After the defeat of the peasants the soldiers far outdid them in acts of violence and blood. Luther protested against those "mad, raging, insane tyrants and bloodhounds. They use the sword to satisfy their passions, so I leave them to their master, the devil."

At Wuerzburg many were beheaded for the sole crime of being Lutherans. At Bamberg nine wealthy peaceable burghers were executed, and the reason given was they were Lutherans. Provost Aichili hounded the Lutherans in Schwaben and Franken; he hanged forty Lutheran preachers on trees along the road. Duke George of Saxony killed many of his people for being Lutherans.

There was a reward for the capture of Carlstadt, who barely escaped from Rothenburg. Broken in spirit, he took back his false doctrine on the Lord's Supper, and in his dire need turned to — Luther. The big-hearted Luther sheltered him, pleaded for him, and saved his life.

In the following February the erstwhile despiser of infant baptism had his infant baptized, and one of the sponsors was Katherine von Bora, now Mrs. Martin Luther.

It is worthy of remark that the only one to keep his peasants peaceable with words and without force was Luther's Elector of Saxony!

Of course, Luther and his Gospel were blamed for this stupendous calamity. He was hated by the princes and the peasants because he had told both the unvarnished truth, and truth hurts.

On June 15, 1526, Luther wrote bitterly: "All is now forgotten what God has done for the world through me. Now lords, priests, and peasants are all against me and threaten my death." Even a party at the court of the Elector John gave him black looks, and he thought it best

to stay away from the wedding of his dear friend Spalatin. Having word of his father's serious illness in February, 1530, Martin wrote a hearty letter of comfort, but could not risk a personal visit — "thought it best not to tempt God by putting myself in peril, for you know how the princes and peasants feel towards me."

Preserved Smith says: "The impartial historian can hardly doubt that in substance he was right." "Had not an iron hand been at the helm, it might well have foundered the ship of reform and scattered all that was hopeful and good in it in a thousand fragments."

Luther had no more to do with this Peasant War than with all the former ones. "Luther did not have to create anything. . . . The princes, moved by ambition and avarice, the knights, and the revolutionaries of town and country formed an army quite ready to engage in warfare, and he had not even to organize its staff of officers." So says Alfred Baudrillart, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, in his *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance, and Protestantism,* p. 94.

CHAPTER TWELVE.

Three Monumental Books.

I. Luther's Bible.

When the knight of the Wartburg again became the friar of Wittenberg, he prepared his German New Testament for the press. He wrote an introduction to the whole and one for each book; he explained things in the margin; he selected pictures from Master Lucas Cranach, some of them after Duerer's famous Apocalypse series. Melanchthon furnished a description of the Holy Land, but no map of Palestine could be had. The first "Teachers' Bible" came from the press of Hans Lufft in September, 1521. Though the book cost one and a half gulden, the first edition of four thousand copies was sold out in about three months, despite the fact that it was at once pirated and reprinted at Basel. Ever since, the Bible has been the best seller.

After a labor of twelve years the complete Bible was printed at Wittenberg in 1534; Luther polished it as long as he lived.

What pains he took! He studied zoology in order to give the right names to the animals named in the Bible. He had a butcher slaughter several sheep and teach him to name the parts, so that he could translate correctly. He asked court-preacher Spalatin to name and describe the gems in Rev. 21, 19, and, if possible, to send specimens from the Elector's collection. Melanchthon had to correspond with learned men everywhere for information concerning the coins in the New Testament.

Only a great poet and a pure man could translate as did Luther, a kindred spirit to the Biblical inspired writers. Every one of his psalms is an original poetic deed of this great prince of lyrics. He listened to the mothers talking

TRANSLATING THE BIBLE.
After Labouchere.

to their children at play in the streets, to the plain people in the shops and market, and as he heard them speak, so he wrote. He studied to get at the real sense of the Hebrew and the Greek authors, and then wrote it down in the real, racy, plain, and popular German.

"In rendering Moses, I make him so German that no one would know he was a Jew."

"Sometimes we have sought two, three, four weeks for a single word, and then sometimes we did not find it."

"We are now sweating over the Prophets. Good God! What a big job to make the Hebrew authors speak German! How they balk, and will not give up their Hebrew tongue and speak in the barbaric German. Just as if you would force a nightingale to imitate a cuckoo!"

"In Job we are working so that in four days we barely finished three lines. My dear man, now that it is done into German and ready, everybody can read and criticize it; now one runs his eyes over three, four leaves without stumbling, and is never aware, walking as over a dressed plank, how we had to sweat and worry to get such rocks and blocks out of the way in order to walk along so smoothly. It's mighty easy to plow when the field's been cleared; but to fell the forest, and grub out the stumps, and get the field in order, nobody wants to tackle that job."

"Now everybody can criticize," — Brother Martin, let them criticize! They have their reward, you have yours. With German genius and German *Gruendlichkeit,* with a muscular arm and delicate fingers you have blended the highland and the lowland dialects, the rules of the man in the study and the words of the man in the street, and thus you are held by many the creator of the present German language, at least you stand the first Grand Master of the glorious German National Literature. It is your language Goethe and Lessing and all the rest had to use to write their masterpieces. It is your language your Romanist countrymen must

employ to slander you. It is your language that paved the path for Bismarck to unite the disjointed German states and weld the great German Empire. Never has God granted to any other man the grace to gift his nation with such a gift as you, Martin Luther.

Luther took a proper pride in his work. "I do not wish to praise myself, but the work speaks for itself. The German Bible is so good and precious that it surpasses all the Greek and Latin versions, and more is found in it than in all the commentaries, for we clear the blocks and rocks out of the way that others may read without hindrance."

True, every word of it. And we like the flush of honest pride mantling his manly cheek; we detest and despise the hypocritical pride lurking in mock humility. If your book is not the best of its kind, why the insolence and impertinence of printing and publishing it?

Luther's work was abreast of the scientific scholarship of the time; it was based on the Hebrew text published by Gerson Ben Mosheh at Brescia in 1494, and on the Greek text of Erasmus of 1519.

Oh yes, there was a German Bible before Luther's day. About the year 400 Jerome had translated the Bible into Latin, and in 1343 this faulty translation was done into very clumsy German, and this was copied repeatedly. Of course, such manuscripts were so costly that only the very wealthy could own a copy. Worst of all, the Roman Church had forbidden Bible-reading in 1229 in France, in 1234 in Spain, in 1408 in England, in 1486 in Germany.

Reuchlin says there were seventeen editions of the German Bible printed before Luther's time. We quietly ask, Where are they? Silence is the only answer. The scholarship and style of Luther's routed all rivals, and only rare bookworms have an inkling of their former existence.

Imitation is the sincerest flattery. Duke George of Saxony forbade Luther's New Testament, but his Emser

stole it and practically reprinted it under his own name, and the Dominican Dietenberger of Mainz did the same thing with Luther's complete Bible.

Hans Sachs was a shoe-
Maker and poet, too.

This doggerel sneer has been outlawed by Goethe's generous tribute to the poetical power of the eminent Nuernberger, who now jubilantly sang of

The Wittenberger nightingale
One now is hearing over all,

and therein proves how quickly and deeply Luther's Bible filled the German mind and heart.

The works of the greatest German artist of all time, Albrecht Duerer, also show the impress of Luther's Bible.

As early as Luther's day Erasmus Alber says: "Our Lord God has enlightened the German language through Doctor Martin, as well as shown us the true religion. He is the German Cicero." So powerful was Luther's work that Jacob Grimm simply calls modern German the Protestant dialect.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge writes: Luther's "miraculous and providential translation of the Bible was the fundamental act of the construction of literary German."

John Fabri of Vienna wailed Luther's Bible had done more damage than all the hail in Egypt, and John Cochlaeus complained "even shoemakers and women became so absorbed in its study that they were able to debate with Doctors of Theology."

What the papists curse we bless. The Bible is the fairest fruit of Renaissance in the service of the Reformation. It created a new conscience and character, "a new soul." Listen to Carlyle:

"The period of the Reformation was a judgment day for Europe, when all the nations were presented with an open Bible, and all the emancipation of heart and intellect

which an open Bible involves. England, North Germany, and other powers accepted the boon, and they have been steadily growing in national greatness and moral influence ever since. France rejected it; and in its place has had the gospel of Voltaire with all the anarchy, misery, and bloodshed of those ceaseless revolutions of which that gospel is the parent."

Says President Little of Garrett Biblical Institute: "Compared with our English Bible, Luther's translation seems like a miracle."

It was from Luther's Bible that William Tyndale got ever so much help for putting the Bible into English, which we read to-day in America.

The German Gutenberg discovered the printing-press at Mainz about 1450, and the German Luther was the first man to make full use of the press to appeal to public opinion. He was the shining pioneer of the Fourth Estate. He is credited with the creation of the German book trade. In 1518 only 150 works were published in German; in 1524 there were 990 — an increase of more than 660 per cent. in five years. Luther's more than four hundred works fill more than a hundred volumes. He was as popular as he was prolific.

II. Luther's Hymn-Book.

On returning from the Wartburg, Luther found the radical and erratic Zwilling and Carlstadt had turned everything topsy-turvy, and so he reformed the Order of Service in the churches; he did so in a liberal spirit, with a gentle and conservative hand. "I condemn no ceremonies but those opposed to the Gospel. . . . In short, I hate nobody worse than him who upsets free and harmless ceremonies and turns liberty into necessity." There is conservative and progressive statesmanship! From this sound principle he wittily and wisely wrote a Berlin pastor who was troubled by the

rich ritual introduced by the ceremonious Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg:

"In God's name make your processions with a silver or gold cross and with cowl and mantle of velvet, satin, or linen. And if your master, the Elector, does not find one hood or cassock enough, put on three, as Aaron, the high priest, wore three richly adorned garments, from which the priestly robes under the papacy got their name. And if His Electoral Grace does not find one circuit or procession enough, with its ringing and singing, make seven, as Joshua marched about Jericho with the children of Israel, shouting and blowing trumpets. And if your lord, the Margrave, would enjoy it, let His Electoral Grace leap and dance in front of the procession with harps, kettle-drums, cymbals, and bells, as David did before the ark when it was brought into the city of Jerusalem."

Do you want anything more broad-minded? Yet some manage to call him narrow-minded!

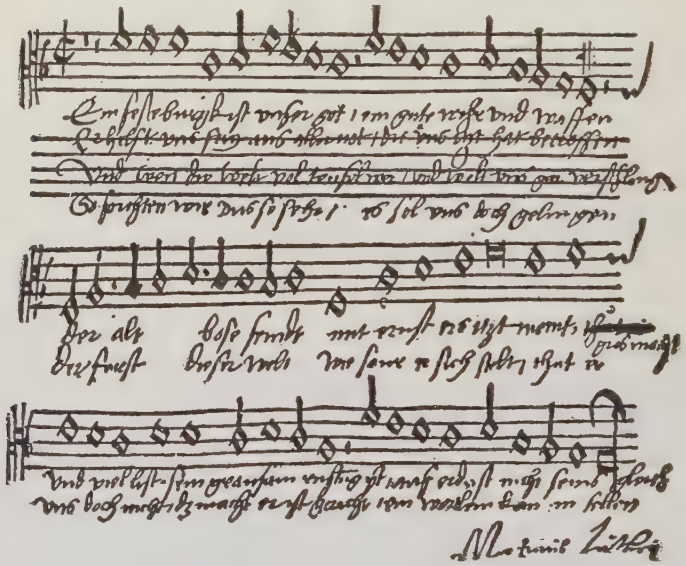
Gregory the Great, who died in 604, introduced instrumental music and choir-singing into the church, but it was a holy monopoly of the clergy; the people were condemned to silence, and since the singing was in Latin, they could not even understand it. During the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, the congregation had to hang their harps on the willows, and they could not sing the Lord's song in a strange land (Ps. 137). All contrary to Col. 3, 16.

Now that all believers were held a royal priesthood, all believers were to take part in the worship of God in His holy temple, and not leave all to professional papal priests as heretofore. Luther opened the lay lips, and placed on them hymns and melodies such as earth had never heard.

Luther translated the Bible that God might speak directly to His children; now he made hymns that they might speak directly to their Father. By the Bible he had opened the ears of the deaf, by hymns he would now loose the tongues of the dumb.

While Luther was studying the Bible, the spirit of the Psalmist and of the Prophets had fallen upon him. "I am minded, after the example of the Prophets and Fathers of the Church, to make German psalms for the people, that is, spiritual hymns, so that the Word of God may be kept among the people through the song."

This practical need was the rod that smote the rock of



Luther's poetical soul, and out gushed a stream of hymns. Poetically silent for over forty years, he blossomed out over night the greatest poet of his age — a most surprising phenomenon in literary history.

In 1524 appeared the world's first Protestant hymn-book — eight hymns, four by Luther.

In the same year a second edition came out with twenty-five hymns, eighteen by Luther; another edition with thirty-two hymns, twenty-five by Luther; they had their own tunes printed in; later on twelve more hymns by Luther were

added. From this tiny spring at Wittenberg has gushed out the mighty stream of Protestant hymnology.

In Luther's hymns there is such a manly tone as is found nowhere else. "A Mighty Fortress" is simply known as Luther's Psalm. It is Luther, it is Protestantism, it is the Gospel. Frederick the Great called it God Almighty's Grenadier March; Heine styled it the Marseillaise of the Reformation; Carlyle translated it and found "something in it like the sound of an Alpine avalanche, or the first murmur of an earthquake."

We like to think of the great Duerer's famous "Knight, Death, and the Devil" as the counterpart in painting of Luther's "Mighty Fortress"; both the poem and the painting express Paul's challenge, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" (Rom. 8, 31—39.)

Grove's *Dictionary of Music* says: "Luther is the establisher of congregational singing. The choral originated by Luther cannot be surpassed for dignity and simple devotional earnestness. The choral-melodies of the Lutheran Church have exerted a powerful influence on classical music. In the seventeenth century Germany possessed the finest school of organists in Europe, not likely to be surpassed in modern times."

Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* says: "The church-hymn, as a popular religious lyric in praise of God to be sung by the congregation in public worship, is the work of Luther. The treasures of Lutheran hymnody have enriched the Churches of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Scotland, England, America."

The first hymnal of Protestant Englishmen was the "Goostly Psalmes and Spiritualle Songes," forty-one hymns of Luther and others translated by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, in the original meter, and sung to the original Lutheran melodies. Henry VIII and Bloody Mary forbade

the book, "to the great loss of English hymnology," as Herford laments.

The first hymnary of the Scotch Protestants was "The Gude and Godlie Ballates," translated from Luther and others, in the original meter, and sung to the original Lutheran tunes. It was the work of the three Wedderburns, of whom John at least had gone to Wittenberg in 1539 and associated with Luther. The earliest known edition is that of 1567; likely there were earlier ones. Luther was very friendly to Scots for the work of early Scottish missionaries to Germany after the devastation of the Huns.

The Lord's Prayer in verse in Knox's Psalter is a singularly faithful, yet spirited translation of Luther's version.

Besides Wedderburn, Hamilton, Fyffe, M'Alpine, Alesius, and others came to Wittenberg, learned the truth, and then spread the truth. And so to Wittenberg, says Prof. A. F. Mitchell, "our native country owes a debt of gratitude which its historians have hitherto been slow to acknowledge."

Leonard Woolsey Bacon says: "To an extent quite without parallel in the history of music, the power of Luther's tunes, as well as of his words, is manifest after three centuries, over the masters of the art, as well as over the common people. Peculiarly is this true of the great song 'Ein' feste Burg.' . . . The composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries practised their elaborate artifices upon it. The supreme genius of Sebastian Bach made it the subject of study. And in our own times it has been used with conspicuous success in Mendelssohn's *Reformation Symphony,* in an overture by Raff, in the noble *Festouverture* of Nicolai, and in Wagner's *Kaisermarsch,* and is introduced with recurring emphasis in Meyerbeer's masterpiece of the *Huguenots.*"

Haendel is said to have credited the best that was in

him to the study of Luther's musical works, and, like Luther, he wrote his music not to entertain, but to make men better.

In his *Evolution of Church Music* the Rev. F. Landon Humphreys, Mus. Doc., S. T. D., says: "Luther was the founder of the new school of music. . . . The *choraele* of Protestant Germany furnish us with the best illustrations of perfection in metrical tunes. . . . These were the first hymns, in the modern sense. . . . The use of hymns dates from the Reformation. . . . No musician who was at once poet and composer belonged to England, nor was there one like Luther who became a household word in his country. It is a pity that the compilers of almost all hymn-books have failed to borrow as many of the German chorals as they should. Those *choraele* are so elevated, and at the same time so simple and devotional, that they are beyond question the most perfect models of hymn-tunes. It is humiliating to compare our collections with those in German churches."

Carlyle says: "Luther's music is heard daily in our churches, his sentiments also are, or should be, present in many an English heart. Which of all our great men in these modern times had such an endowment [of poetry] as Luther? He it was, emphatically, who stood based on the Spiritual World of man, and only the footing and miraculous power he had obtained there could work such changes in the Material World. As a participant and dispenser of divine influence, he shows himself among human affairs; a true connecting medium and visible Messenger between Heaven and Earth; a man, therefore; not only permitted to enter the sphere of Poetry, but to dwell in the purest center thereof: perhaps the most inspired of all teachers since the first Apostles of his faith; and thus not a Poet only, but a Prophet and God-ordained Priest, which is the highest form of that dignity and of all dignity."

Cyriakus Spangenberg says: "Of all mastersingers since the times of the Apostles Luther is the best and most ar-

tistic." The Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine says bitterly: "The fine songs of Luther have seduced more souls from the [Roman] Church than the archheretic with his teaching." Samuel Taylor Coleridge says: "Luther did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible."

No doubt these are strong statements, but they stress the importance and influence of Luther's hymns.

III. Luther's Catechism.

While Luther was up in the Wartburg, Carlstadt reformed the Wittenberg city school to death. Luther returned and brought it back to life, and in 1524 sent a "Letter to the Aldermen and Cities of Germany to Erect and Maintain Christian Schools," of which Ranke says: "This work has the same significance for the development of learning as the 'Address to the German Nobility' for the temporal estate in general." Prof. Painter calls it "the most important educational treatise ever written."

Children should go to school an hour or two every day, learning a trade at home the rest of the time. Girls should be sent to school as well as boys. Public libraries with good books in each town are called for.

Up-to-date America in the twentieth century is trying to catch up with the ideas Luther published four hundred years ago; he certainly was a Progressive. United States Commissioner of Education Claxton, on October 29, 1916, at New York said Luther is the father of the Gary system of work-and-play education.

Luther made a visitation or survey of a part of Saxony and found the priests very ignorant; some did not know even the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and some were very immoral. And the people? Of course, they were sunk in ignorance and superstition.

What was to be done? Leave it to Luther! In 1529, he published a pair of heavenly twins, the Small Catechism

and the Large Catechism, each one the best of his kind. As it often happens, the little brother became more famous than the big brother.

Erasmus said of the papists: "They had brought it to be a matter of so much wit to be a Christian that ordinary heads were not able to reach it." In Luther's Catechism ordinary heads can reach it, can even pray it. Luther wrote the Elector that thanks to this simple instruction the youth of Saxony now understood the Bible better than monks and nuns under the papacy. "It is a right Bible for the laity." So it has been in all these centuries, in Europe and in America; often imitated, never equaled.

Others knew a good thing when they saw it, and Scotland's first Catechism was a translation of Luther's; Archbishop Cranmer gave it to the English; Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and others took it to heart. "From Greenland's icy mountains" the Eskimos prayed it through the labors of Hans Egede, "from India's coral strand" the Hindus prayed it through the labors of Ziegenbalg, and it was the first book translated into the language of the North American Indian by the Swede Campanius.

Justus Jonas said you could buy it for six pennies, but you could not pay for it with six thousand worlds. Mathesius thought if Luther had done nothing else, the world could never pay him enough. It found its way to Venice, and a Catholic cleric said, "Blessed are the hands that have written this holy book!" Prof. McGiffert says: "The versatility of the Reformer in adapting himself with such success to the needs of the young and immature is no less than extraordinary. Such a little book as this it is that reveals most clearly the genius of the man"; he calls it "the gem of the Reformation."

Listen to what the great historian Leopold von Ranke says of this gem of purest ray serene: "It is as childlike as deep-minded, as plain as unfathomable, simple and sub-

lime. Happy he that feeds his soul with it, that clings to it! He has an unfailing comfort in every moment, behind a thin shell the kernel of truth, which satisfies the wisest of the wise." We say, Amen!

As a fruit of Luther's efforts old schools were bettered and new ones begun. Luther is the father of popular education, of the public school for every boy and every girl.

And Luther insisted upon higher education, upon the study of the ancient languages in which the Bible was written.

He complained hitherto men had studied twenty, forty years and learned neither Latin nor German, that the high schools had turned out asses and blockheads. Pope Pius II bears him out in this complaint.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.

More Battles.

I. Luther against King Henry and Erasmus.

When Luther published his *Babylonian Captivity,* he published an earthquake that overturned the very foundations of the papacy; for he laid his hands on all believers and consecrated them all priests of the most high God.

The poor, condemned monk was attacked by the future Pope Hadrian VI and by — by — His Royal Highness King Henry VIII of England.

Luther's works were brought to England early in 1519, and they would have been burned but for Erasmus, who urged the kings of France and England to use arguments and not force.

Cardinal Wolsey longed to become Pope, and on Sunday, the 12th of May, 1521, at St. Paul's, burned Luther's books in the presence of King Henry and the foreign ambassadors after Bishop Fisher of Rochester had preached against the German heretic. The ambitious cardinal also persuaded the king to refute Luther's *Babylonian Captivity.* Old Harry was fit for anything and everything, and, with the help of the learned Bishop Fisher, wrote *"A Defense of the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther,* by the most invincible King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, Henry, the Eighth of that Name." It was printed at London, in July, 1521, and the work of the royal quill was dedicated to Pope Leo X. His Holiness was so tickled that he entitled the loyal champion "Defender of the Faith" — still borne proudly by Britain's kings. His Holiness also said the work could not have been written but by the aid of the Holy Ghost, and he granted to every reader an indulgence for ten years and ten periods of forty days. In order that

PREACHING AT OLD ST. PAUL'S,
where Luther's books were burned.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Germans, too, might have this boon, Duke George of Saxony had the royal *opus* done into German.

"What a wolf of hell is he! What a poisonous viper! What a limb of Satan! How rotten is his mind!" Pray, Gentle Reader, do not be alarmed; this is not the slanguage of angry fishwives of Billingsgate; these are sweet, reasonable arguments from the ink-pot of the loyal and royal Defender of the Faith, who advocated the famous and favorite short argument with heretics — "If Luther cannot be constrained to silence, he should for once be made useful to the world by the terrible example of his death."

Saint Gruffian, help Luther! He did.

Luther gave the royal rowdy a Roland for an Oliver, paid him in his own coin. Luther's words had "hands and feet," a punch and a kick.

Since "that king of lies, King Heinz, by God's ungrace king of England," had acted so unlike a king, he was not to be treated like a king. "For since with malice aforethought that damnable and rotten worm has lied against my King in heaven, it is right for me to bespatter this English monarch with his own filth, and trample his blasphemous crown under feet. Living, I shall be the enemy of the papacy; burned, I shall be its destruction." The king ought to be whipped for his ignorance of Aristotle, and Luther was the man who would like to do it.

As far as we know, the world has never seen the like.

Paolo Sarpi, the greatest Venetian, said: "So great a name as that of the English Henry mixed up in the dispute, and beaten, served to give *éclat,* to render it more curious, and to conciliate general favor towards Luther."

The English monarch gathered himself together and sent John Clarke to Nuernberg to complain about Luther to the government. The government was sorry to hear of any rudeness; that was all. Henry sent a herald directly to Saxony. The Elector Frederick and his brother John

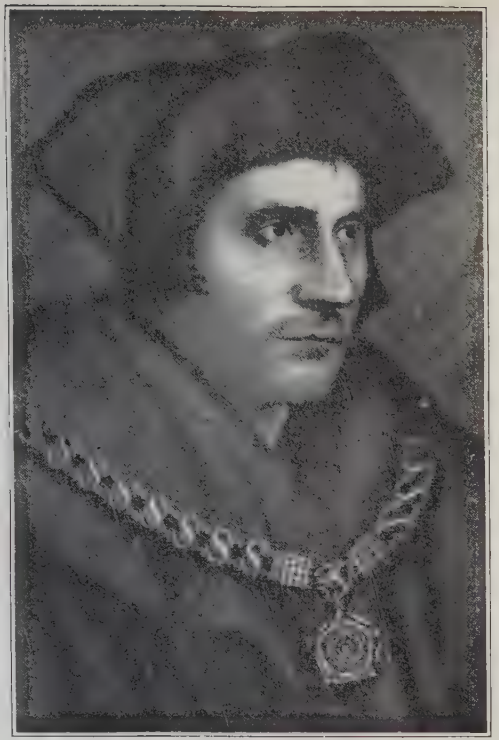
said if Luther had been impolite, they were sorry, to be sure; that was all the satisfaction the royal Harry got.

The burly British bully now called his gang together to attack Luther. Thomas Murner began the assault, and got one hundred pounds. Bishop Fisher let go two works at Luther. Sir Thomas More, the greatest wit of England, was most ferocious and vulgar in his attack; even Erasmus thought he was worse than Luther. Erasmus of Rotterdam, the prince of wits and wit of princes, was mobilized against Luther.

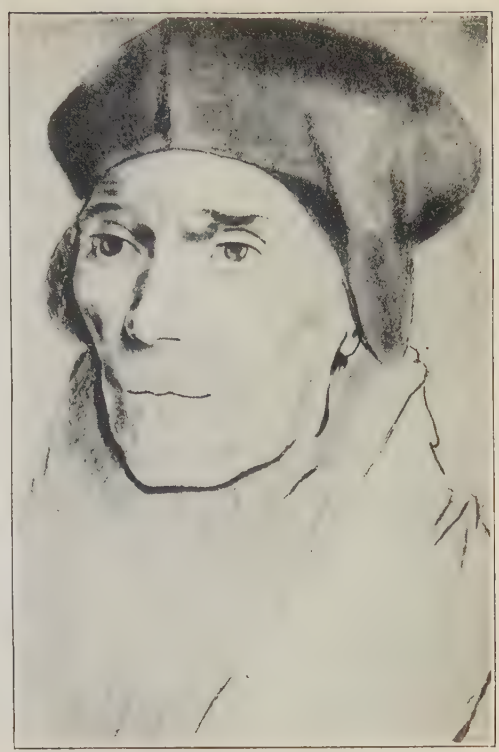
Erasmus saw the evils in the Church, and had sneers for them where Luther had tears for them. He would disdainfully hold aloof from the battle between Luther and Leo, and with his dainty fingers put his perfumed lace handkerchief to his nose. The effete aesthete would be neutral on the Olympian heights. But the cool moon of Erasmus paled before the red rising sun of Luther. All Europe was ringing with the one name of Luther.

As early as 1518 the young Dominican monk Martin Bucer said Luther surpassed Erasmus in teaching openly and freely what Erasmus only hinted at, an opinion shared by many more ere long, to the great annoyance of the proud scholar. In the long run he could not remain neutral. The Lutherans despised him for his lack of courage or conscience or both, and so did the papists. The papal patrons that paid him pensions urged him to write against Luther; the royal patron of England repeatedly urged him to side against Luther, or lose his English pensions. Luther wrote Erasmus very sternly if he would not side with the Gospel, he should at least remain silent, and not publicly oppose him.

Erasmus spurned the plea for peace, and in 1524 felt forced to write *On Free Will*, suggested by King Henry, and thereby proved he had no free will. He borrowed much of Bishop Fisher's works. Like a bulldog he jumped at Luther's throat. If man has a free will, and can of himself



THOMES MORE.
After Holbein.



BISHOP FISHER.
After Holbein.

do good works, the Catholic Church is right in teaching salvation by works.

It is curious to note that the printers of Basel were unwilling to print anything even by Erasmus against the popular hero of Germany. Erasmus wrote Henry he feared being stoned in Germany did he write against Luther.

In December, 1525, Luther replied with his great work, *On the Unfree Will.* He generously gives full credit to Erasmus for all he had done for science and the world, but blames him for being uncertain and wavering, slippery as an eel, and then shows from the New Testament our salvation does not depend on man's free will, but on God's free grace. He told Erasmus to stick to his trade of literature and let theology alone.

"An example of dignified polemic" is what McGiffert calls Luther's reply, and adds: "Luther was a genuine evangelical. And if Erasmus was not a thoroughgoing rationalist, . . . his spirit was akin to that of the rationalists of all ages."

Prof. Emerton of Harvard says, in this question Erasmus showed all the "timidity of a scholastic, and refers it finally to the judgment of the great authorities of the Church." Luther "comes out here in reality as a champion of the boldest liberty of human judgment."

Preserved Smith says, Erasmus in his reply to Luther "in the end tries to hedge and make peace again; man should remember that salvation is God's work, but damnation that of sin." Thereby Erasmus gave away his whole case.

The Goliath of the Renaissance was downed by the David of the Reformation. Paul and Augustine taught as Luther, and all Protestantism is based on Luther's teaching of free grace.

William Farel likened Erasmus to Balaam, who cursed the people of God for gold. Even the Catholics were not

pleased with Erasmus; Pope Paul IV placed all his works on the Index of Prohibited Books.

Even now Luther wrote Erasmus, trying to come to an understanding with him; but again the Humanist rejected the plea for peace, and even complained to the Elector John of Luther's severe attack, which he himself had called forth.

When a council was talked of, Erasmus, in 1533, made known to the world his thoughts *On the Lovely Unity of the Church,* in which he talked pious platitudes about mutual forbearance. Luther retorted with ironical remarks about love for people who imprisoned, mutilated, and burned folks for being Lutheran Christians, instead of discussing the very practical question of the authority of the Pope, council, and prelates in matters of conscience. "Conscience and truth cannot stand that sort of peace."

Luther fought the soul-destroying paganism of the papacy with conscience and with truth, Erasmus with jokes. Luther wrote the whole of Erasmus was nothing but one grin; he makes jokes of serious business and serious business of jokes.

Erasmus and many other classical scholars had sneered at the enormous immorality and ignorance in the papacy, but they remained in the Roman Church, and turned their batteries on Luther. They were pagans, Luther was a Christian.

Prince Alberto de Carpi writes Erasmus: "Can you deny that in your country — as has long been the case in Italy—... a sad confusion arises between the truths of Christianity and the maxims of paganism? . . . Morals no longer agree with the moral precepts of Christianity." Erasmus writes Capito: "Paganism seeks to rise again under cover of classical literature: there are Christians who recognize Jesus Christ only outwardly, and live in an inward atmosphere of heathenism."

Such were the pagan Humanists, patronized by pagan

humanist Popes and bishops, who attacked Luther's Biblical Christianity. Preserved Smith says truly: "To think of the Reformation without Luther is as unhistorical as to fancy that Christianity might have grown up without its great Founder."

II. Luther against Zwingli.

When Carlstadt, in 1524, denied the Real Presence of the Lord's body and blood in the Holy Sacrament, Luther wrote Against the Heavenly Prophets, and there the matter would have lain buried in the ruins of the Peasant War, had not Zwingli of Switzerland helped Carlstadt and the Anabaptists, and crossed Luther's path in an "unfortunate manner," as Preserved Smith rightly calls it.

Zwingli pocketed a papal pension of fifty florins till 1520, and at the same time plotted to depose the Pope. The Swiss got his doctrine of the Lord's Supper in 1522 from a letter of Cornelius Hoën, a lawyer in the Netherlands. As early as April, 1525, Zwingli said the Lutherans were "led by a different spirit" from himself, and accused them of cowardice and hypocrisy. The Zwinglians called Luther the Saxon idol, the Saxon Orestes, etc., and they did not shrink from fraud, deceit, and forgery, as we may read in Walther's *Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation*.

Luther defended himself in a number of important writings.

Philip of Hessen and Zwingli wished to forge a political alliance against the menace of the united Pope and Kaiser. In order to clear away the doctrinal difference, Philip invited the principal opponents to "a friendly, non-disputatious conversation" in his castle at Marburg. Luther went — for the sake of peace.

Demaus thinks William Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible, was "one of the favored fifty" admitted to the great historic debate.

On Saturday, October 2, 1529, 6 A. M., Chancellor Feige

M. HULDRICUS ZUINGLIUS,
REFORMATOR ET PASTOR
ECCLESIÆ TIGURINÆ.
Obiit. a. 1531. die 11. octob. Ætatis 48.

welcomed the debaters. Luther and Melanchthon sat with Zwingli and Oecolampadius at a special table right in front of Philip of Hessen and Ulrich of Wuerttemberg.

Luther raised the velvet cloth and chalked on the table the words, "This is My body." For him these words stood fast, and they were to stand fast, and nothing was to drive him from these plain words of Christ.

MARBURG CASTLE.

Zwingli pointed to his "brazen wall" in John 6, "The flesh profiteth nothing." Luther shattered that bulwark by simply pointing out Christ does not say, "*My* flesh profiteth nothing," and that John 6 does not at all treat of the Lord's Supper.

When Zwingli quoted from the old Church Fathers, just like the papists, Luther placed the plain Word of God above the authority of man, just as he had done over against the papists.

Zwingli held it against reason to believe the true body

of Christ in heaven could be in so many places on earth in the Lord's Supper. Luther said the matter must be decided by the plain Word of God, not by the erring reason of man.

Zwingli thought the bodily reception of the Lord's body and blood was useless. Luther said if the Lord commanded the use, it must be of some use.

ULRICH VON WUERTTEMBERG.

Zwingli said the words must be explained. Luther said they need not be made plain, they are quite plain.

Zwingli said "is" means "represents." Luther said "is" means "is" and nothing else. Christ said "is" and meant "is," and He is able to make good His meaning.

Sunday morning Luther preached a powerful sermon on Justification by Faith, and tactfully avoided touching on

the matter under debate. This was resumed even in the forenoon and kept up till night.

The debaters had been very courteous; on both sides it was all, "Dearest Doctor," "Herr Doctor," "Your Love"; with one exception. When Zwingli was everlastingly bringing in John 6, Luther at last said that did not apply.

Zwingli said sarcastically, "No, Herr Doctor, that passage breaks your neck!" Luther flared up and sharply said they were now not in Switzerland, but in Hessen, where necks are not thus broken. Zwingli explained his expression was a harmless saying in use in his homeland, and Luther was satisfied.

At the end of the second day it was plain the two parties could not get together, and the debate was broken off. Luther said he would keep to his faith and begged Zwingli's pardon in case he had been severe, since he was only flesh and blood. Zwingli, too, begged Luther's pardon for the rude word that had escaped him, and with tears protested he had always been bent on peace and union.

Upon request of all present, Luther on Monday morning drew up a confession of faith, the fifteen Marburg Articles, which the Swiss signed — bar the one on the Sacrament; they would not admit the bodily presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

In spite of this difference in teaching, Zwingli said, "There are no people on earth with whom I would rather be at one than with the Wittenbergers," and reached out his hand and with tears begged to be recognized as a brother, for which also the Landgrave Philip earnestly pleaded.

Luther expressed his surprise they should wish to be brothers with people whose teaching they condemned, and refused the outstretched hand because it was not the hand of brotherhood — "You have a different spirit than we."

Luther's companions strengthened him in this refusal, and especially the peaceful and gentle Melanchthon.

Had Luther taken Zwingli's hand, he would have

promised to defend to the death Zwingli's false doctrine and enlist the whole evangelical party to support it against the Kaiser, and no one knows what else Zwingli had in his political head.

That there was no personal bitter feeling is clear from

AGRICOLA.

what Luther, on his way home, wrote Agricola a few days later: —

"Nevertheless we gave them the hand of peace and charity, agreeing that bitter words and writings should be stopped, and each should teach his own opinion without invective, but not without argument and defense. So we parted." To Gerbel at Strassburg Luther wrote: "It seems to me that no small scandal has been removed, since there

will be no further occasion for disputation, which is more than we had hoped for. Would that the little difference still remaining might be taken away by Christ."

Why did Luther not give in to Zwingli? As early as December 14, 1524, he had written to the Christians of Strassburg: "I freely confess that if Carlstadt or any other could have convinced me five years ago that there was nothing in the Sacrament but mere bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I was sorely tempted on this point, and wrestled with myself, and tried to believe that it was so, for I saw that I could thereby give the hardest rap to the papacy. . . . But I am bound; I cannot believe as they do; the text is too powerful for me and will not let itself be wrenched from the plain sense by argument. And if any one could prove to-day that the Sacrament were mere bread and wine, he would not much anger me if he was only reasonable. (Alas, I am too much inclined that way myself when I feel the old Adam!) But Dr. Carlstadt's ranting only confirms me in the opposite opinion."

To Philip of Hessen he wrote on June 13, 1530: "I do not oppose them from hate or pride, for God knows I would long ago have adopted their doctrine if they could only prove it. But I cannot satisfy my conscience with their reasons."

On January 22, 1531, he wrote Bucer: "Please believe what I told you at Coburg, that I would like to heal this breach between us at the cost of my life three times over, for I see how needful is your fellowship to us, and what damage our disunion has done the Gospel. I am certain that, were we but united, all the gates of hell and all the papacy and all the Turks and all the world and all the flesh, and whatever evil there is, could not hurt us. Please impute it not to obstinacy, but to conscience that I decline the union you propose."

What a wonderful self-portraiture of the unsullied soul of Luther! Here was a powerful weapon, ready to his hand,

but even in his life-and-death struggle against the Antichrist Luther's stainless hand would not touch a doubtful weapon, would not take an undue advantage. Here chivalry was in flower! Here is our true Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach.

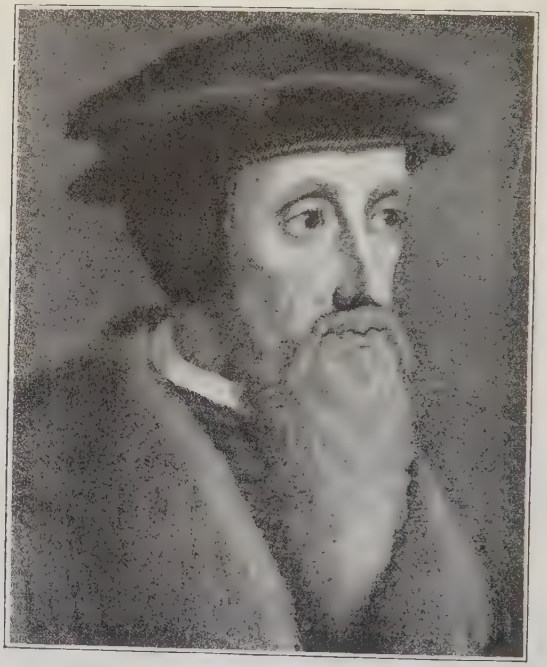
That same holy and lowly reverence for the Word of his God kept Luther from giving the hand of brotherhood when there was no real brotherhood; he would have no false fire upon his altar; he would not debase the coin of God's realm; he would have no "politics" in his heart's religion. Luther stood firm as a rock against the surging seas. He lifted his shield against would-be friends to protect the plain Word of God.

All Protestants applaud Luther at Worms; some Protestants deplore Luther at Marburg. In 1521 they see a glorious epic; in 1529 they see a gloomy tragedy. The tragedy is there, but it was not of Luther's making. At Worms Luther upheld the authority of God's Word against the authority of the majority, of princes, professors, priests, prelates, Popes; at Marburg Luther upheld the authority of God's Word against the authority of man's reason, though he offended the influential South Germans and the powerful prince of Hessen. Luther at Worms fires the imagination of poet and painter and preacher, but Luther at Marburg stirs the admiration of the thinker still more, if possible. In neither case was it stubbornness or even sturdiness and mere manliness; in both cases it was a matter of Christian conscience, of loyalty to the plain Word of God.

Luther was right, his critic McGiffert himself being witness. The Professor says: "The belief in the real presence supplied too potent a guarantee of the Gospel of God's forgiving love in Christ to be willingly abandoned by Luther, and his conviction that it was explicitly taught in the New Testament gave him warrant for insisting upon it as a necessary article of faith." Correct! And yet the same Pro-

fessor says Luther's intolerance was wholly responsible for the split! If the Professor can stand this sort of thing, we are quite sure Luther can.

Who spoiled the good feeling brought about at Marburg? No, it was not the "fighting" Luther; it was the "gentle"



JOHN CALVIN.
After Holbein.

Zwingli. McGiffert says: "Arrived home, Zwingli spoke very contemptuously of his antagonist's arguments, and loudly claimed he had completely vanquished him, to the older reformer's great disgust."

The Swiss furthermore broke faith with the Lutherans by reprinting all the vicious and insulting things Zwingli

had written against Luther before the meeting at Marburg. Yes, decidedly, they had a different spirit from Luther's.

After the death of Zwingli the Protestants of Southwestern Germany, under the lead of Bucer, left Zwingli's doctrine and came over to Luther's teaching and signed the Wittenberg Concord on May 29, 1536, while the Swiss kept Zwingli's teaching, which even John Calvin called "profane."

When Bullinger wrote against Luther's doctrine in 1545, Calvin greatly deplored the contents and thought the work extremely weak.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

Luther Saved from Burning.

I. By King Francis.

When Karl, in 1521, by the Edict of Worms doomed Luther to death, who saved the friar from the fire? "The Most Christian King" Francis of France. Well!

Fearing the power of Hapsburg, the good Catholic King made war on the good Catholic Kaiser, and so Karl had troubles of his own and could not trouble the troublesome monk, and so turned the heretic over to brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria.

Ferdinand promptly called the Reichstag to Nuernberg in 1522, but he also could not do a thing to the lone Luther.

Why not?

The new Pope was Kaiser Karl's tutor, Hadrian VI, who had written a book against Luther's *Babylonian Captivity*, which he hated as a devilish book; he thought Luther's Gospel freedom was "a bondage of the devil," and his heresies too crude for a theological student!

We note with interest the judgment and the language in which it is couched.

This learned Dutchman sent Chieregati to the Reichstag at Nuernberg and admitted Luther was God's punishment for the sins of the clergy, that the corruptions had spread from the Pope to the prelates, from the head to the members, and ended by cheerfully demanding the burning of that fool and scoundrel Luther.

The Catholic laymen told their Catholic Pope to reform the admitted corruptions in the Catholic Church, and to start at the top, then Luther's power and popularity would soon dwindle, but if he began by burning Luther, who had

POPE HADRIAN VI.
After Hopfer.

POPE CLEMENT VII.
After Bronzino.

pointed out these abuses now admitted, nobody would believe the Pope's promises to reform the Church.

Instead of burning Luther, these Catholic laymen presented the famous *Hundred Grievances* against the Catholic papal court, and added the plain threat they would reform matters themselves if the Pope didn't do so soon, in a certain time, which they really didn't look for.

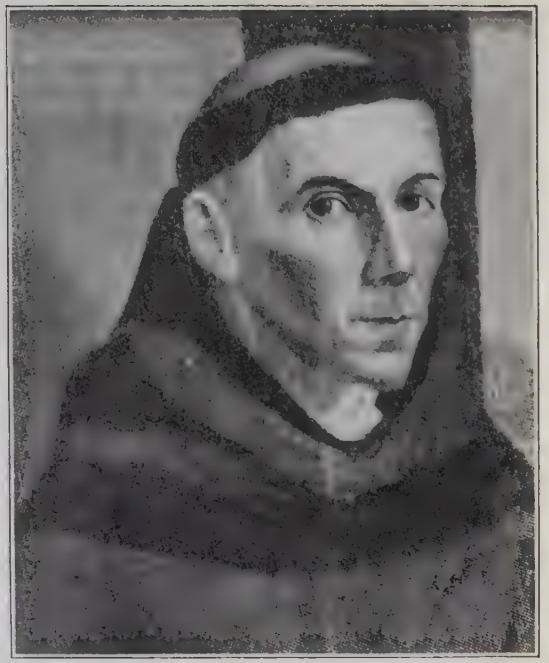
Chieregati was dazed; he asked that the matter be taken up again. They told him they had no time for that. He demanded prison for the Lutheran preachers at Nuernberg. Nothing was done. Aldermen Holzschuher and Jerome Baumgaertner, Katharina von Bora's lover, were ordered to take Luther's polemical writings from the book-dealers, but that did not amount to much.

What the Pope dreaded really happened — the Catholic laymen demanded a General Council to reform the Catholic Church and — O horrors! — seats and votes for laymen! So deep, so high, so wide Luther's teaching of the universal priesthood of all believers had spread in so short a time! No wonder the legate left town in indignation on February 16, 1523.

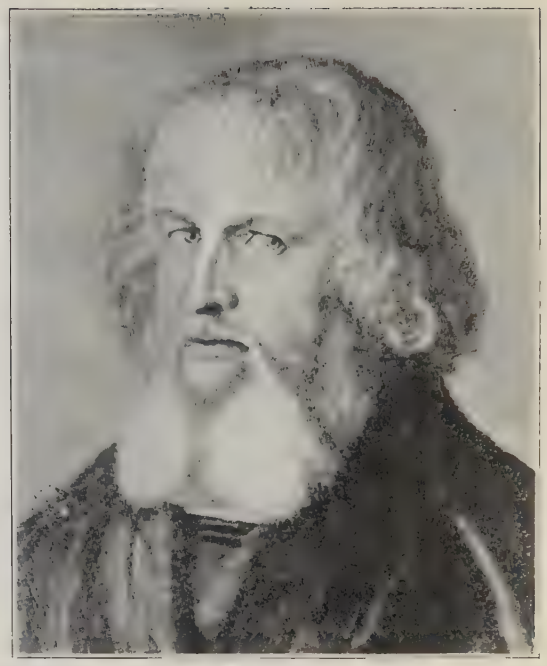
Pope Hadrian VI died suddenly on September 14, poisoned by his doctor, so it was said. The Romans brought the doctor a wreath with the words: "To the Savior of His Country."

Think it over.

Though Karl's arm was not long enough to reach Luther in Germany, it was strong enough to get some Lutherans in the Netherlands. On July 1, 1523, Heinrich Voes and Johann von Esch, two young Augustinian monks of Antwerp, were burned for Lutherans at Brussels, chanting the *Te Deum* in the flames. They were the first Lutheran martyrs. Heinrich Moeller of Zuetphen, who had studied at Wittenberg and married a near relative of Luther, was done to death on December 11, 1524. At Vienna, Caspar Tauber



HEINRICH VON ZUETPHEN.



JEROME HOLZSCHUHER.
After Duerer.

was beheaded; at Pesth a man was burned for selling Luther's books.

Tears started to Luther's eyes as he murmured he had not been found worthy to suffer for Christ, and then wrote a popular ballad on the heroic death of the first two martyrs.

Some Catholics are ashamed of the persecutions. Alfred Baudrillart, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, says in his *The Catholic Church, the Renaissance, and Protestantism*, London, 1908: —

"Some Frenchmen adopted the dogma of justification by faith, which Luther proclaimed. This formidable doctrine had its martyrs. They were persecuted without pity, and with invincible fortitude they endured horrible tortures, similar to those the followers of the Crucified suffered at the hands of expiring paganism; their blood bore new children to the Reformation. The stake was the attraction that held or drew towards it the holiest souls and the most generous consciences.

"We speak of them with respect, because human interest had no part in determining their resolve.

"When confronted by heresy she [the Roman Catholic Church] does not content herself with persuasion; arguments of an intellectual and moral order appear to her insufficient, and she has recourse to force, to corporal punishment, to torture. She creates tribunals like those of the Inquisition; she calls the laws of the State to her aid; if necessary, she encourages a crusade or a religious war, and all her 'horror of blood' practically culminates into urging the secular power to shed it, which proceeding is almost more odious — for it is less frank — than shedding it herself. Especially did she act thus in the sixteenth century with regard to Protestants. Not content to reform morally, to preach by example, to convert people by eloquent and holy missionaries, she lit in Italy, in the Low Countries, and, above all, in Spain the funeral piles of the Inquisition. In France under Francis I and Henry II, in England under Mary Tudor, she

tortured the heretics, whilst both in France and Germany during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, if she did not actually begin, at any rate she encouraged and actively aided, the religious wars. No one will deny that we have here a great scandal to our contemporaries.

"Mgr. d'Hulst remarked on this fact in his Careme of 1895: 'The intervention of the secular power in the cause of heresy has left memories which haunt the imagination of our contemporaries like a nightmare. Many men of divers opinions find in this the great scandal of ecclesiastical history. . . . Even among our friends and our brothers we find those who dare not look this problem in the face. They ask permission from the Church to ignore or even deny all those acts and institutions in the past which have made orthodoxy compulsory. And when the Church refuses this right, when she condemns the thesis of absolute liberalism, when she defends, if not in its detailed application, at any rate in principle, a legislation belonging to the great centuries of faith, then a dread fear seizes them, and leaves them with halting faith or saddened by the sight of ironical or triumphant impiety.'"

At the second Reichstag of Nuernberg, in 1524, Ferdinand again could do nothing against Luther. The new Pope was Julius de Medici, Clement VII, a bastard, even the son of his own sister; at least that is what good Catholics said about their Pope. Think it over! What conditions in those times!

The Pope sent Campeggio, who was caricatured in cartoons. At Augsburg the people hooted at his blessing. Nuernberg was about leaving Romanism and turning to Lutheranism under his very eyes. Four thousand took the Lord's Supper in both kinds, even members of the Kaiser's government; in the old Zollern castle even the Kaiser's own sister, Queen Isabella of Denmark. Albrecht Duerer, the artist, Hans Sachs, the poet, Lazarus Spengler, the Secretary of

the City, and others were pillars of Lutheranism. Osiander from the pulpit called the Pope the Antichrist, and the Pope's legate could do nothing.

When Campeggio told the Reichstag it need expect no answer to its *Hundred Grievances* of the year before, the Reichstag calmly resolved to call another for November 11th at Speyer to take the reforms into its own hands and examine Luther's teaching.

When the Legate demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms to execute Luther, the princes promised to do so — "as far as possible"; which meant nothing.

The Kaiser denounced the Reichstag for meddling with his rights; the Pope denounced the Reichstag for insulting him; Luther denounced the Reichstag for making a fool of itself — at the same time condemning him and promising to give him a fair trial. A fine set to war on the Turk, who was ten times as godly as they!

The Catholic princes broke faith. Instead of going to Speyer as they had resolved, they went to Regensburg (Ratisbon) in June, 1524, and formed the Southern Catholic Confederacy to execute the Edict of Worms to execute Luther. They at once persecuted their Lutheran subjects in the most cruel manner. Bibles were burned, the printers were drowned, women and children were forced to kneel in burning ashes.

This secession split Germany into the Catholic South and the Protestant North.

II. Saved by Pope Clement VII.

When Karl defeated Francis at Pavia in 1525, the Kaiser, in the Peace of Madrid, forced the Frenchman to promise to help crush Luther at last. Karl did not crush Luther. And who, think you, saved Luther? You'd never guess. Of all men under the sun, it was — the Pope!

The Pope feared for his lands from the Kaiser's great power, and simply loosed Francis from his solemn oath just

made to the Kaiser. The Pope, you see, can do things that men of honor cannot do. When Benvenuto Cellini, the famous artist, reproached this same Pope for breaking his word, the Holy Father smilingly said he had power to bind and loose! Witty and wicked.

With the King of France, the King of England, and some Italian princes, Pope Clement now formed an alliance against the Kaiser — the Holy League of Cognac. Sounds spirituous if not spiritual. Having troubles of his own, the Kaiser could not afford to trouble the German Lutherans; he needed them in his business.

The Reichstag of Speyer, in 1526, first pronounced the principle that Scripture is to be explained by Scripture and not by human authority.

If the Kaiser enforced the Edict of Worms, the Lutheran princes would not aid him in his wars; if he did not, the Catholic princes would desert him — as a result every prince was to act according to his conscience. The Lutheran princes reformed the Church in their territories.

No wonder Luther boasted he was no longer a heretic! The excommunicated monk, cursed by the Pope, and the outlawed monk, hounded by the Kaiser, certainly triumphed gloriously.

Of course, the Kaiser was not especially pleased with the Pope's treachery, and so he made up his mind to teach his brother ruler and Holy Father a little lesson in common honesty. "I shall go into Italy, and revenge myself on those who have injured me, especially on that poltroon, the Pope. Some day, perhaps, Martin Luther will become a man of weight." Karl had "poured out streams of gold" for the election of the Pope, now the election was attacked because the Pope was a bastard.

On September 17, 1526, Karl addressed a letter to the Pope in language "of which no follower of Luther need have been ashamed," as Ranke writes, and Ehses says: "The imperial state-paper is perhaps the most violent document

addressed in that century by a Catholic sovereign to the Pope."

Ugo de Moncada, the Kaiser's envoy, and Pompeo Colonna, the Pope's Cardinal, let loose their troops on the Pope. Not a Roman hand was raised to help the Pope, who had taxed his people almost to starvation. The Kaiser's eagle floated over the Vatican. Imprisoned in St. Angelo, the Pope could watch the plundering of his palace on September 20, 1526. Relics, crosses, sacred vessels, and vestments were stolen, and even the altar of St. Peter's was robbed. Soldiers wore the white garments and the red cap of the Pope and in mockery gave the papal blessing.

A cardinal driving the Holy Father from the Vatican and looting his furniture — what a sight! Grim! Grimmer the news from Mohacz, where the Turk killed King Louis of Hungary, the Kaiser's brother-in-law, and opened Central Europe for an invasion.

On Holy Thursday, April 18, 1527, after the reading of the Bull *In Coena Domini*, when the Pope was giving the blessing, a man dressed only in a leathern apron clambered on to the statue of St. Paul in front of St. Peter's and shouted to the Holy Father: "Thou bastard of Sodom, for thy sins Rome shall be destroyed. Repent, and turn thee! If thou wilt not believe me, in fourteen days thou shalt see it."

A pretty good prophet! He was only four days out of the way.

Cheer up, Holy Father, the worst is yet to come! Georg von Frundsberg pawned even his beloved castle of Mindelheim, the cradle of his race, and the jewels of his wife, to raise 38,000 gulden to gather an army of lusty young men. Frundsberg held to it that it would be pleasing to God and mankind that the Pope should be hanged, should he have to do it with his own hand.

On May 6, 1527, the German *Landsknechte* of the deceased Frundsberg, with the Spaniards under Bourbon,

stormed the city. Bourbon was killed, and Benvenuto Cellini claimed credit for firing the fatal shot.

In the Borgo the Catholic Kaiser's troops cut down everybody, regardless of age or sex, murdering even the sick in the hospital and the children in the orphanage.

The Pope with some cardinals narrowly escaped from the Vatican into St. Angelo. The good Catholic soldiers plundered and looted, looted and plundered. "What plunder!" as old Bluecher said on seeing London. The glorious Sistine Chapel was turned into a horse-stable.

The Catholic soldiers dressed like cardinals, marched to the Castle, proclaimed Luther Pope, and threatened to hang Pope Clement VII. Hunger forced the imprisoned Pope and cardinals to surrender.

The Pope bought his life from the good Catholic army for 400,000 ducats. To raise the cash, he auctioned off crucifixes and communion vessels, and even put his triple crown into the melting-pot.

Cardinal Cajetan was dragged through the streets in a disgraceful procession. Another cardinal the Catholic soldiers carried on a bier to a cemetery, and threatened to bury him alive unless he paid an enormous ransom. Catholic matrons, maids, and nuns were violated by the Catholic soldiers. Drunkenness and debaucheries brought on dreadful diseases. Famine and pestilence cut down the population and the soldiers.

On September 25, Rome was pillaged again in some ways worse than before. "Hell has nothing to compare with the present state of Rome," reports a Venetian.

The Catholic Prof. Pastor writes: "The Spaniards committed the worst abominations. . . . The excesses of the German *Landsknechte* were not marked by such inventive cruelty. . . . Since the *Landsknechte* were for the most part Lutherans, they did not neglect this opportunity of heaping scorn and ridicule on the papacy." Can you blame them?

The Pope and his court deserved the scourge.

Pico della Mirandola told the Pope and the Lateran Council: "If Leo leaves crimes any longer unpunished, if he refuses to heal the wounds, it is to be feared that God Himself will no longer apply a slow remedy, but will cut off and destroy the diseased members with fire and sword."

That was in 1517, the very year in which Luther nailed up his Ninety-five Theses against the abuse of indulgences.

"Now Popes and cardinals have become antichrists," said Tizio, canon of Siena, when a number of cardinals had been put to death by Pope Leo X, whose court was called "a great classical bacchanalia and a monstrous orgy of paganism."

Bishop Stafileo said to the Rota on May 15, 1528, God's punishment had come "because all flesh has become corrupt, because we are not citizens of the holy city of Rome, but of Babylon, the city of corruption." He called Rome the whore of Babylon, and said the Lord had driven the buyers and sellers from His temple. Cardinal Sadoleto said the same.

A Spaniard wrote: "Now I recognize the justice of God, who forgets not, even if His coming tarries. In Rome all sins are openly committed — sodomy, simony, idolatry, hypocrisy, fraud. Well may we believe, then, that what has come to pass has not been by chance, but by the judgment of God." The Pope spoke of the *sacco di Roma* as a chastisement for their sins.

Did they repent? A Venetian reported: "The court here is bankrupt; there is no improvement in morals; men here would sell Christ for a piece of gold."

Bembo lived in adultery with Morosina for twenty-two years; he was private secretary to Pope Leo X, and was made a cardinal in 1539.

Lope de Soria, Karl's ambassador to Genoa, advised the Kaiser to end the temporal power of the Popes, who were the causes of all the wars he had seen during his residence of twenty-eight years in Italy. Chancellor Gattinara's

nephew awaited the Kaiser's decision whether any sort of apostolic chair were to remain at Rome or not! Macchiavelli desired the end of the Papacy as the root of all evil.

The historian Guicciardini, after having served Leo X and Clement VII faithfully for long years, broke out into violent accusations against Rome, and cherished the hope that Luther might bring about the destruction of the ecclesiastical polity.

The Florentine Bartolomeo Cerretani, though an adherent of the Medici, places his hopes of salvation in no other than Martin Luther. In him he hails a man distinguished equally for morals, learning, piety, whose views are penetrated by the ideas of the ancient Church, and whose writings are marked by a true and solid learning. In spite of the Pope's Bull *Exsurge*, he still believed that from Luther would come the ardently desired reform of the Church.

An English envoy, who could speak plain English, called Karl's confessor Quinones "a whoresun flatteryng fryar"; but this worthy now told the Kaiser, if he did not undo the wrong to the Pope, he should not call himself the Kaiser, but Luther's captain.

Luther wrote: "Christ so orders that the Kaiser, who for the Pope persecutes Luther, for Luther must destroy the Pope."

When so many good Catholics were rejoicing over the sack of holy Rome, did Luther shout with glee? "I am sorry Rome was sacked," he wrote Jonas in November of 1527. What a tender heart in that "German beast"!

What is a Pope's treacherous perjury and a Kaiser's sack of Rome between — rogues? Mere trifles, I assure you. Rogues fight, rogues unite. The Pope and the Kaiser made the Peace of Barcelona in 1529. The Kaiser married his illegitimate Margaret to one of the Pope's nephews, and at Bologna received the crown of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation from the hands of the Pope. "Behold,

KAISER KARL V ABOUT 1529.
After Barthel Beham.

how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" Ps. 133.

Karl der Grosse was the first German Kaiser crowned by a Pope in 800, Karl V was the last German Kaiser crowned by a Pope in 1529; not a single German prince was present.

In the same year Karl made peace with Francis at Cambray, which embraced "the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books."

When Sultan Suleiman planted his banners before the walls of Vienna in 1529, Philip of Hessen would refuse military aid to the Kaiser, but the good patriot Luther called on the Lutherans to help the papistic Kaiser drive off the terrible Turk.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

The First Protestants, Their First Confession, and the First Religious Peace.

I. The First Protest.

The Reichstag of Speyer, in 1526, promised a General Council, — "every State in the mean time to live, rule, and bear itself as it shall be ready to answer for to God and his Imperial Majesty."

Now the Lutherans cheerfully poured out their blood and treasure to save the Kaiser against the Pope, and the King of France, and the Turk before the walls of Vienna.

In August, 1529, the Kaiser made the Peace of Cambray with France, and promptly turned to crush the Lutherans who had saved him in the day of his distress.

At the Reichstag of Speyer, in 1529, the Catholic majority brutally broke the unanimous agreement of 1526, and demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms, which meant Luther was to be burned, the Lutheran religion destroyed, the Catholic religion restored by force as the only religion of the whole German Empire.

The Lutherans manfully rejected this brutal tyranny and stoutly protested — "In matters touching God's honor and our soul's salvation every one must stand for himself before God and give an account. . . . Up to this time the Decree has maintained the peace, and we protest against its abrogation."

From this historic protest the Lutherans were first called Protestants, and all Protestants take their name from this Lutheran protest.

The very Reverend Principal John Tulloch writes in *The Nineteenth Century* of April, 1884: "All modern Christian liberty may be said to be the outcome of the protest taken

THE PROTEST AT SPEYER.

KING FERDINAND.
After Beham.

KAISER KARL V.
After Amberger.

at Spires and Augsburg by the Evangelical members of the German Empire. The attitude of these Christian princes and others was again only possible in the light of the great struggle which had been maintained during the twelve previous years by one man. The Diet of Worms and Luther's memorable words there alone explain the subsequent diets at Spires and Augsburg. The courage of a single man as he faced on that great occasion the mailed chivalry of Germany — a pale and slight figure, as yet without any of the brave rotundity of his later years — gave the courage which inspired the famous protest, and laid the foundation of all Christian and ecclesiastical liberties."

This protest was made though the clouds of civil-religious war lowered on the horizon. Karl rejected the protest, and treated the messengers as prisoners; only in the dark of night could they make their escape.

In case the Kaiser made war on the Lutheran religion, were the Protestants to offer armed resistance? Luther said the Kaiser must first be deposed.

II. The First Confession.

Crowned Kaiser at Bologna on February 24, 1530, Karl kissed the Pope's toe and swore to protect the Pope's rights and goods. He called his Reichstag to Augsburg, the burg of the great Caesar Augustus, for April 8, and promised to be present in person for the second time. In public he spoke of peace with the Lutherans; in private he spoke of punishing the Lutherans.

At Innsbruck "he made as though he would kiss the young ladies, but disengaged himself as soon as might be from those of riper years," observes the observant chronicler.

Behind the Kaiser rode his brother Ferdinand and Campegi, the Pope's legate, who dared not bless the people for fear of raising a riot. The princes, ridden out from Augsburg to meet their Kaiser, bowed the knee when the

legate raised his two fingers, but even then the sturdy Saxon Elector stood bolt upright to reject the papal blessing.

The Kaiser at once asked the Lutherans to march in the Corpus Christi procession next day, June 16. This they resolutely refused; it was not a matter of courtesy to the Kaiser, but of confession of Christ.

With candle in hand the Kaiser walked behind the Host for two hours in the blazing sun, but Spalatin says less than a hundred Augsburgers followed the Kaiser's example.

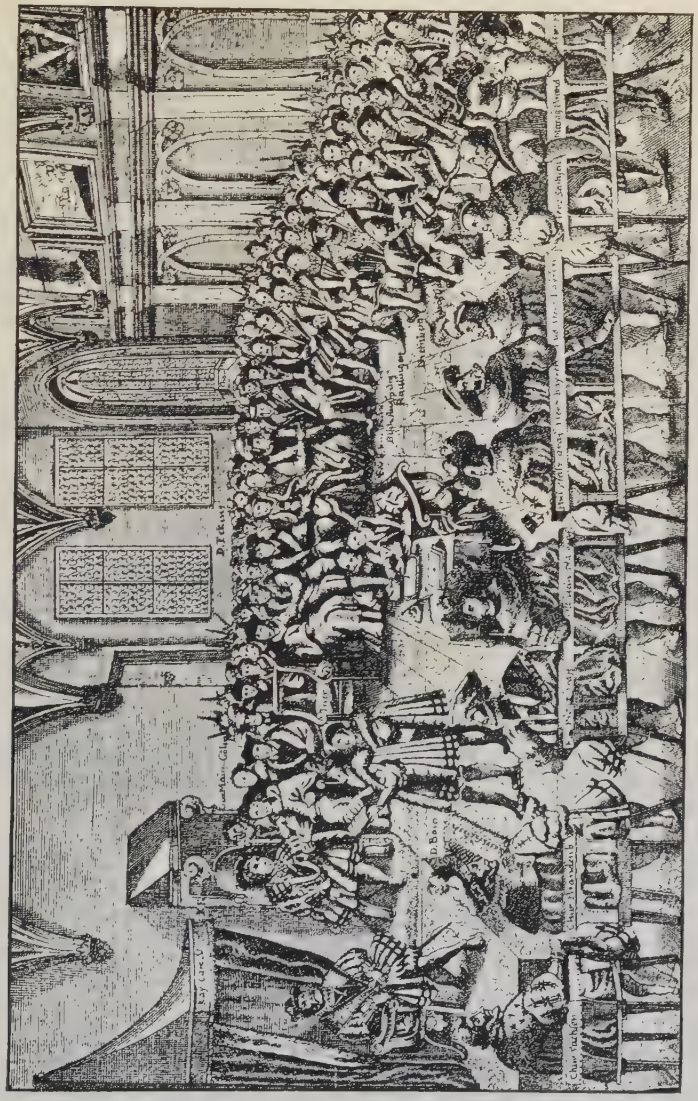
Karl had promised to settle the religious question "in a spirit of love." In the opening speech the Papal Legate Pimpinella flung into the faces of the Protestant princes if they despised St. Peter with the keys, St. Peter with the sword would smite them; and yet he begged their help against the terrible Turk.

In reply the princes presented again the famous *Hundred Grievances* of the German Nation and a detailed statement of the laity against the clergy.

On June 25th, about four in the afternoon, Karl received the Augsburg Confession, not in the great Gold Room of the Court House, but in the bishop's palace, where he was staying, in the chapter room holding about two hundred people, where Chancellor Christian Beier read the historic first Protestant confession of faith. The German Kaiser did not understand the German language, and so soon fell soundly asleep — asleep at the switch at a critical and dramatic moment in modern history.

What a change! At Worms, in 1521, the boyish Kaiser forbade the lowly and lonely Luther to say a single word in defense of his teaching; nine years later the mighty master of Europe and America was forced to listen to the German reading of a formal confession of the Lutheran teaching of princes and lords and cities! "I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings!" Ps. 119, 46.

Luther was jubilant; he was the first to appreciate the greatness of the historic event, and to impress it on others.



PRESENTING THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION TO KAISER KARL V.

In reply to the Lutheran Confession twenty Catholic theologians, led by John Eck, drew up their Confutation, on July 12. Five times the Kaiser returned it to them for correction and improvement. Even then it was so long and strong as to be a cause of boredom, disgust, and nausea to the saner among the audience, to whom it was read on August 3. When the Lutherans wished to reply, Karl refused them a copy. Think of it!

FORTRESS COBURG.

Luther, — where was Luther? He was left high and dry in the Elector's castle of the Coburg, 500 feet above the town and 1,500 feet above the sea. Why was he left behind? Luther thought because he had "too coarse a voice" for the Reichstag. Pallavicini thinks it would have been an unpardonable insult to bring the damned and banned heretic into the presence of the Kaiser.

At the Coburg Luther grew a beard, just as at the Wartburg; he complained about his spectacles; he received

a sword from a friend at Nuernberg; he even shot at bats with an arquebus, and hit one in the heart.

The Coburg was an ideal summer resort, but Luther just simply did not know what to do with a vacation.

"I have come to my Sinai, dearest Philip, but I shall soon make it a Zion and build three tabernacles, one for the Psalter, one for the Prophets, and one for Aesop, — I speak after the manner of men. It is indeed a very pleasant place and convenient for study, save that your absence saddens it."

Urbanus Rhegius visited Luther, and found him the mighty theologian whose like would not again be seen. Bucer found him a man who truly feared God, and heartily sought the glory of God.

Princes and preachers made pilgrimages to the Coburg as to the shrine of a saint or to the voice of an oracle. "I shall soon have to go elsewhere if the pilgrimage hither continues," he wrote Kate.

Kate sent him a picture of their little Magdalene by Cranach. The fond father hung it on the wall opposite the dining-room table, and it helped him to forget his cares.

Hearing of his father's death, Martin took his Psalter and went to his room and wept so much that for two days he couldn't work. Since then he didn't give way to grief any more. Luther himself fell sick, and the Elector sent him a doctor from Augsburg.

Weary and dreary debates between the papists and the Protestants followed for months. Luther wrote Albrecht of Mainz: "Let there be liberty of conscience, and let us save our fatherland." Melanchthon almost wrecked the whole work of Luther by giving up the truth, and Jerome Baumgaertner said he was "more childish than a child," and "no man to the present day has harmed the Gospel more than Philip."

Luther was roused and wrote: "All treaty about harmonizing our doctrine displeases me, for I know it is im-

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

possible unless the Pope will simply abolish the papacy." "I am almost bursting with anger and indignation. But I beg, break off the conferences and go home."

The Kaiser made threats by calling his troops into the free city of Augsburg.

Finally the Protestants pointed to their Augsburg Confession and to the promised General Council.

On September 22, the Kaiser told the Protestants their Confession had been confuted and rejected, and they were bound to recant and return, and they were given grace till April 15, 1531.

When they objected, they were told their heresy was to be rooted out by force.

While Brenz gloomily forecast "the end of Germany," and Bucer wailed and whined about "the massacre of the saints worse than that of the time of Diocletian," Luther was the only one to talk and walk like a man. The genius of Luther made him a keener statesman than the professional politicians at Augsburg. He wrote the whimsical letter about the great Reichstag of the crows to his family; the wise and witty letter to Teutleben; the letter of sublime faith to Chancellor Brueck; heartening and masterful letters to Melanchthon; the exquisite letter to little Hans, now four years old. These stand in a class by themselves in the literature of the world.

Luther remained on the heights of Coburg, and with God-given courage he heartened when others were disheartened; with God-given power he cheered and steered when others were helplessly and hopelessly floundering in a bog. He was clear-eyed when others were blear-eyed. He said there would be no war, and there was no war. And he was right, as usual. Jonas rightly likened him to Elijah, who drove the horses of the chariot of Israel. 2 Kings 2, 12. Luther was the backbone of his party.

The lone man up in the Coburg did all this wonderful work while ear and throat pained him so fearfully that he wished for death, and actually picked out a spot suitable for his grave! A marvel among men.

All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. A Venetian visitor wrote that Karl and Ferdinand enjoyed themselves vastly in banqueting, dancing, and shooting; they seemed to care little who was Lutheran and who was Catholic;

indeed, a great Lutheran gave a dinner-party to Karl, who could see on the walls the portraits of Luther and his wife.

On September 14, the Kurprinz John Frederick came to the Coburg and presented to Luther a gold ring with the celebrated coat of arms; it was too large and fell to the

ELECTOR JOHN FREDERICK.

floor. Luther joked he was born to wear lead or a halter, rather than gold. The Kurfuerst and Melanchthon arrived on October 4, and next day all started for home.

Speaking of Augsburg, Preserved Smith says: "I believe that in this case Luther was right." Armstrong, the latest writer on Karl, says: "It was the Emperor's first real check. . . . It may be admitted that the Diet of Augs-

burg was one of the supreme moments of Lutheranism, — that princes and towns did indeed sacrifice something for conscience' sake." Well, really? "For this relief much thanks."

Melanchthon sent the Augsburg Confession to King Henry VIII, and it formed the basis of the Episcopalian *Thirty-nine Articles* and the creed of the Methodists.

Dr. Philip Schaff, one of the leading Presbyterian theologians, said: "The Augsburg is the first and most famous of all the evangelical Confessions. . . . The most churchly, the most catholic, and the most conservative creed of Protestantism."

The Reformed Church historian of Germany, Gieseler, says: "If it be a question which of the Protestant creeds is best adapted to become a basis of union for all evangelical churches, I would pronounce unhesitatingly for the *Confessio Augustana.*"

III. The First Religious Peace.

"Force would now fetch the best results," wrote the Kaiser to the Pope in September, and he wished for 3,000 trusty troops to war on the Lutherans.

When the jurists declared this against the constitution, Luther, Melanchthon, and Jonas advised to meet force with force, which would be according to civil law and also according to duty and stress of conscience.

In December the Protestant princes formed the Schmalkald Bund to defend their religion. Because they feared the Kaiser's growing power, the good Catholic Dukes of Bavaria strengthened this Bund. Politics makes strange bedfellows.

April 15, 1531, came, the date set by the Kaiser for the Lutherans to repent and return to the papacy or suffer the consequences. They did not repent and return, neither did they suffer any consequences. Instead of executing the Edict

of Worms, the noble Kaiser executed a turn-about-face — the Catholic Frenchman was again warring on the Catholic Spaniard, and from the other side Sultan Suleiman was again waltzing on the blue Danube toward Vienna in April, 1532.

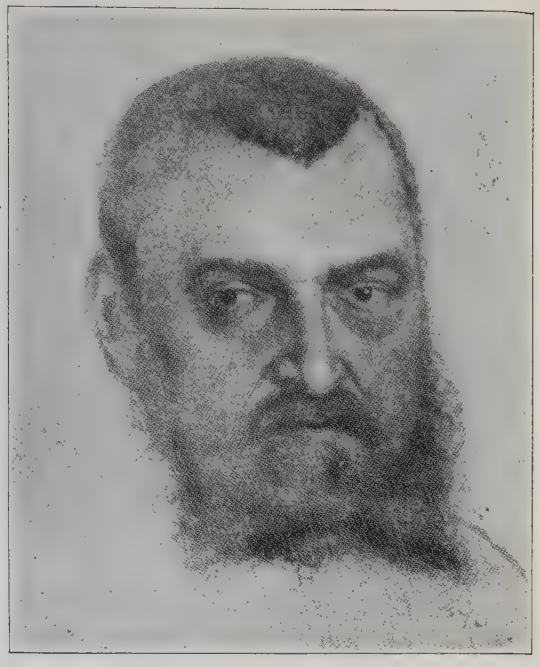
When Ferdinand's agents would bluff the Turk by saying Kaiser Karl had all his people back of him, Suleiman sarcastically asked had the Kaiser yet made peace with Luther?

And then, while the Kaiser promised a General Council, the Pope tried all tricks to hinder the council. He hated the very name of council worse than the devil in hell, said Cardinal Loaysa, the Kaiser's former confessor, for he feared his own Catholic bishops more than all Lutheran heretics. He would rather allow wives to the priests and the cup to the people and even swallow the Augsburg Confession than let a council reduce his income, or even depose him for being a bastard.

"One may smile, and smile, and be a villain." And Karl smiled. And he was told to smile by his spiritual adviser, the Spanish Cardinal Loaysa. In July, 1530, this worthy had haughtily recommended force as the best rhubarb for heresy, but now he sang small and said: "Let Your Majesty be satisfied that the heretics serve you and prove faithful, even if against God they are worse than devils. If dogs they will be, let them be. Close an eye, since you have not the power to chastise them."

That certainly is "to maken vertue of necessite," as old Chaucer has it. This father confessor even advised religious liberty for the Lutherans! The Pope also wrote Karl, "although their opponents were Lutherans, they were yet, for all that, Christians," and he was to get their help against the terrible Turk. Brothers Karl and Ferdinand, the pious persecutors of Protestants, in their dire distress turned for help to the Lutherans.

Who spoke in favor of helping? Armstrong writes:



MARGRAVE GEORGE OF BRANDENBURG.
After Cranach.

ALBRECHT OF BRANDENBURG.
Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

ELIZABETH, WIFE OF ELECTOR JOACHIM I OF BRANDENBURG,
secretly receives the Lord's Supper in both kinds according to the Lutheran way at Easter, 1527.

"Luther's conservative common sense and his German patriotism saved the Emperor's cause, and perhaps that of Christianity."

Not a bad day's work — for a heretic.

On July 23, 1532, the Religious Peace of Nuernberg

JOACHIM II, ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

bound each party to respect the faith of the other until a General Council settled all religious questions. Karl had to agree, though it was a sore defeat; Ferdinand sighed and cried as he told the Pope's legates. Aleander wrote to Rome the papacy, while not endorsing, must shut its eyes to concessions as dangerous as they were unavoidable. "If in these evil times we had for an emperor a Frederick Bar-

THE ELECTOR JOACHIM II OF BRANDENBURG BECOMES A LUTHERAN AT SPANDAU.

barossa or the like, we Catholics would soon have little or nothing of a great part of Christendom."

The lone Luther victorious over the allied Pope and Kaiser!

Margrave George of Brandenburg was deeply impressed by Luther at Worms in 1521, and soon made his land Lutheran. His brother Albrecht, Grand Master of the religious Order of the Teutonic Knights, on Luther's advice turned his land into the Lutheran duchy of Prussia, which became the kingdom of Prussia.

Joachim I of Brandenburg could not attend a Reichstag without taking his mistress in male attire, but the Elector was so good a Catholic that he flung into prison his wife Elizabeth for taking the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran way. When he died between two of his mistresses, his son Joachim II, in 1535, made Brandenburg Lutheran, and his brother, John of Kuestrin, made his Neumark a Lutheran land.

In 1534 Philip of Hessen wrested Wuerttemberg from King Ferdinand and restored it to Duke Ulrich, who made it a Lutheran land.

On May 21, 1536, the Wittenberg Concord united all Protestants of Germany. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were turning Lutheran. The King of France was flirting with the German Lutherans and sent an embassy to invite Melanchthon to France, which Luther seconded, but the Elector forbade. Lutheranism was making great strides in England.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

More Talk of a Council.

When Pope Clement VII died, in 1534, there was, of course, the usual talk of his having been poisoned. The Romans broke into the chamber and stabbed the corpse of the Holy Father, and were hardly kept from dragging it through the streets of Holy Rome!

Alessandro Farnese was called Cardinal di gonella — of the petticoat — because good Catholics said he had given his married sister, the bella Julia, to be mistress of Pope Alexander VI in order to become a cardinal; he now became Pope Paul III. He had astrologers, whom he consulted before every important step; also three sons and a daughter.

Kaiser Karl in a fury reproached this Holy Father, old as he was, with having contracted a venereal disease, with being neither an honest man nor a good shepherd, caring only for earthly pleasures and the enrichment of his children, and not for the service of God.

Pope Paul, on June 9, 1535, appointed a committee of cardinals to propose reforms for the Church. "When our own house is cleansed, we more readily take in hand the cleansing of others" — Lutherans.

The report of the cardinals to Pope Paul III in 1537 said: "Flattery has established in the Roman Curia the doctrines which reign therein, to wit, that the Pope is the owner of all dignities, that he can sell them, that the acts of the Sovereign Pontiff are not subject to the laws of the Church." Contarini adds: "It is *idolatrous* to pretend that the Pope has no rule but his own will to establish or abolish positive rights." So writes the good Catholic Baudrillart, p. 173.

When the Holy Father called a Council for 1537 to root out the "pestilential Lutheran heresy," the Elector John

Frederick asked Luther to write articles to be considered by the Protestant princes at a conference at Schmalkalden in February of 1537. The result was the famous Schmalkald Articles in which Luther calls the papacy the Antichrist of 2 Thess. 2.

POPE PAUL III.
After Tizian.

Though the roads were rough, and the cold severe, and he not well, Luther, on December 31, set out for Schmalkalden, in his own wagon and with Kate's horses, and arrived on February 7. His quarters were wretched, the bed damp, and the food heavy, and he fell ill with a severe attack of the stone for fourteen days, and he wished himself dead.

Since the 11th he could not take part in the talks; on

the 18th he preached, "not so much speaking as thundering from heaven in the name of Christ." He was seized with violent pains. Doctors poured in medicine, even garlic and horse-dung — "They made me drink as if I were an ox." Melanchthon suspected the doctors worsened matters; we suspect that is correct. The abused body no longer functioned, and since the 24th Luther prepared for the end. He

WHERE THE BUND OF SCHMALKALDEN MET.

yearned for the nursing of his Kate. Like carrion crows waiting for the carcass, the papists hovered around the house to view the remains and report to Rome.

Even at death's door the irrepressible humor cropped out, and in an epigram Luther warned all travelers to beware of the Hessian beds. Seeing Melanchthon in tears, the sick man whimsically said: "Hans Loeser says it's no trick to drink good beer, but to drink sour beer, that's a trick." Again: "Have we not received good at the hand of the Lord,

and shall we not receive evil? The Jews stoned Stephen: my stone, the villain, is stoning me." He did not rue the game he had played with the Pope and the devil; he had done right to do up the Pope. "I depart," he cried with sublime boldness to his Maker, "a foe to Thy foes, cursed and banned by Thy enemy, the Pope. May he, too, die under Thy ban, and we both stand at Thy judgment-bar on that day."

The Elector visited him twice and promised to care for his family as if they were his own.

In the company of friends Luther left on the 26th in a wagon of the Elector. On leaving, he made the sign of the cross over the assembly, and cried: "God fill you with His blessing and with hate of the Pope!"

That strong blessing points to Rome as the source of all corruption, and it was to stiffen the backbone of those left behind.

The jolting of the wagon gave such severe pain that Luther cried out aloud, but it brought relief. At Tambach, two miles away, the body began to function, the gathered mass of water passed away and one gravel after another. Schlaginhaufen galloped back shouting, "Luther lives!" to the papal legate looking out of the window.

At Gotha he had a relapse and felt he would die after all and made his so-called first will — "I know, praise God, I did right to attack the papacy, which is a slander on God, Christ, and the Gospel," etc.

He made confession and received absolution from Pastor Bugenhagen. More gravel passed, one as big as a bean. He recovered and preached at Easter.

When outsiders doubted his recovery, Luther with great good nature made a written confession that he was still living, to the great disgust of the devil, the Pope, his enemies, and his own.

Though Luther and Melanchthon advised against it,

the princes refused to attend the Pope's council, and Melanchthon was asked to write the reasons to the kings of England and France.

This was a new departure. So far they had appealed to a council, now they proclaimed themselves a communion distinct from Rome.

When the Catholics threatened war in 1538, Luther called on the Protestants to fight the Kaiser as a common robber.

Discretion is the better part of valor. Karl made no war; he made the Frankfort Recess — on April 19, 1539, he promised protection to the Protestant princes for fifteen months. Then the religious question was to be settled by a German national synod, which was to take in laymen.

A most notable victory for Luther.

The plague drove the Reichstag of Speyer to Hagenau, where many Catholics would give up the Catholic ground to unite with the Protestants. In this way, thought Cardinal Morone, Germany might certainly be united, but the unity would be Lutheran.

To this papal legate King Ferdinand said hotly he could not find a confessor who was not a fornicator, a drunkard, or an ignoramus, due to the evil example of the Pope's court, and insisted the Pope must allow marriage to the priests, the cup to the laity, and a change in doctrine.

At the religious conference at Worms in January, 1541, Melanchthon and Eck debated four days — a duet between a nightingale and a crow, said the people. When the Legate Morone saw the Lutherans were getting the best of it, he got Chancellor Granvelle to defer the matter to Ratisbon, where Karl would be present in person.

Granvelle asked the Pope for 50,000 scudi to bribe the Protestants. His Holiness was willing to spend that sum for the good cause if his name were not mentioned.

Aleander wailed the news from Germany was "enough to give the stomach-ache to a statue."

While De Soto was discovering the Mississippi River, the Pope's legate Contarini was discovering how hard it was to unite the papists and Protestants at Regensburg in 1541, for Melanchthon stood fast by the Gospel. They say Calvin heartened Philip.

In June the great German Kaiser Karl sent a special princely embassy over the head of the Elector to the great heretic Luther in order to win him over where Philip had balked. Think of it! The outlawed Luther was a first-class world-power all by himself.

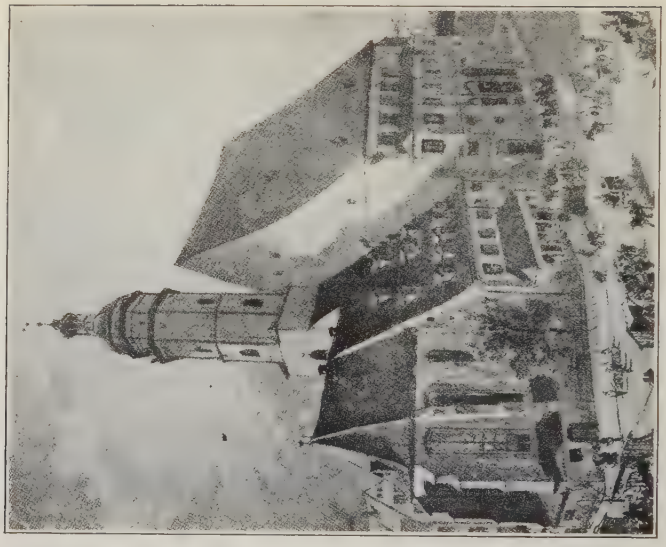
Sure enough, Luther was quite peaceable and willing to bear with certain ceremonies if only justification by faith were preached "pure and clear."

Melanchthon was astonished at Luther's mildness, but Luther knew full well the papists would never, could never accept justification by faith. Luther was right, as usual.

Led by Leonhard von Eck, the Catholic Dukes of Bavaria would war on Lutheranism, "not for zeal of religion, but for greater political power," as the Catholic Pastor writes. Contarini had to keep them from plunging Germany into war, which would give the impression the Catholics shunned the light of reason. He wrote bitterly: "There is scarcely a man, or very few, who serve God with an honest heart. . . . Every one sought his individual interest."

The Bavarians wrecked Karl's plans for peace; the Pope wrecked Karl's plans for a council; the Turk, on July 29, took Buda-Pesth, — the poor Kaiser was beaten all along the line. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

In 1539, Luther's bloodthirsty enemy Duke George of Saxony died, and Luther accompanied his Elector to Leipzig and drew the people's attention more than all the princes. Twenty years ago, when he disputed with Eck, all pulpits were forbidden him, now he preached the Gospel in St. Thomas' Church, as he had prophesied, and the Duchy of Saxony became Lutheran.



THOMAS CHURCH AT LEIPZIG.

MORITZ VON SACHSEN.

LUTHER PREACHING IN LEIPZIG AT PENTECOST, 1539.

Duke Heinrich von Braunschweig announced the death of his prostitute, Eva von Trott, and buried a large doll with all churchly honors and ordered masses for the repose of her soul, and the Duchess wore mourning for her. At the same time this same Eva von Trott was alive and quite well, thank you, and bore one child after another to the noble Duke of Brunswick. Such was the man who also fiercely attacked Luther, who at last settled with him in the notoriously fierce book *Against Hans Worst.* On rereading it, Luther, like Warren Hastings, was astonished "how I could have been so moderate. I attribute it to the sufferings of my head, which did not permit my mind to display a more upright and stronger vehemence." In 1542, this Duke Henry was expelled, and Brunswick became Lutheran.

In 1542, Luther ordained Amsdorf the first Lutheran Bishop of Naumburg. In like manner Duke Moritz of Saxony took Merseburg in 1544, and made his brother August the bishop.

In Siebenbuergen, or Transylvania, a Lutheran church was organized, and in Venice there were Lutheran preachers, who, however, were driven away or imprisoned.

Hermann von Wied, the venerable Archbishop of Koeln, said the study of Scripture convinced him the Lutheran teaching was right, and he wished his priests to preach the pure Gospel. Melanchthon helped evangelize the Elector's land in 1542.

On November 20, 1544, the people of Heidelberg in Holy Ghost Church of their own accord sang Speratus's

> Salvation unto us has come
> By God's free grace and favor,

and the Elector introduced the Reformation in his Palatinate, the Pfalz.

Despite the Archbishop-Elector Albrecht, his home town Halle turned Lutheran. He had one of his many prostitutes carried into his castle in a box of holy relics, but her un-

timely sneezing betrayed her presence, and his prostitutes were called "the Bishop's holy relics." The resentment against him rose so that he moved himself and his relics to Mainz. Through his fault Erfurt, Magdeburg, and Halle became Lutheran.

In 1545, Albrecht died and was succeeded by Sebastian von Heusenstamm, who leaned toward the Gospel, and so the majority of the Electoral College was now Protestant, and Karl's son, Philip II, would surely not be elected the next German Kaiser. The next German Kaiser was William I, King of Prussia, that same Prussia that had become secular on the advice of Luther!

Why did the Kaiser permit this growth of Lutheranism? The Turk was fighting the Kaiser, and the Catholic King of France was helping the Turk, and the Pope was helping the French King! Luther was the only one to help the Kaiser against the Turk. Then the great and proud German Kaiser disgraced himself so deeply as to pay tribute to the Turk to keep the peace, so that Karl might have a free hand to crush Luther, who positively would simply not be worried by such threatening dangers.

At the Reichstag of Speyer, in 1544, the Bund of Schmalkalden gained once more a brilliant triumph. Karl promised peace to the Protestants till a free German National Council could settle the question of religion, Pope or no Pope. He needed Lutheran help against Catholic France. Of course, he did not intend to keep his pledge, and at the Peace of Crespy in September he forced King Francis to promise help to crush the Lutherans.

Morone wrote the Pope the bishops cared only for drink and women; they had no interest in theology, no respect for the Pope; their only aim was to be rid of the Pope.

Pope Paul III wrote the Kaiser a letter lecturing him like a naughty boy for meddling with affairs of the Church, especially since he had called a council to Trent for March 15, 1545.

It is held Karl's Chancellor Granvelle played this letter into the hands of Luther, and the dying lion roared his final defiance with youthful vigor in his classic hymn of hate and swan-song, *Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil,* published in March of 1545. He "used the ax, for which by the grace of God he had a higher spirit than other men," as Chancellor Brueck wrote, quite correctly, for Luther was easily the first in almost every branch.

The leaders at the Council of Trent were the Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Catholic Baudrillart writes: "In 1540, Cardinal Guiddaccioni, who was deputed to examine the first constitutions of the Society of Jesus, was strongly opposed to the order. 'In the beginning,' he said, 'all orders are full of fervor, but they relax in time, and when they grow old, the harm they do to the Church is greater than the good they did her at first.' "

The Archbishop of Toledo forbade his clergy to have anything to do with the Jesuits; they were excommunicated by the Vicar-General of Saragossa; the Dominicans suspected their orthodoxy; the great theologian Melchior Cano called them the forerunners of Antichrist; the universities of Salamanca and Alcala were foremost in denouncing them; at Salamanca Loyola was for a time in chains.

At the Council of Trent the Jesuits helped end the worst scandals in the papacy. On December 4, 1563, the Bishop of Nazianzus said: "Holy things will no longer be bartered, for the scandalous traffic of professional collectors is at an end." He thereby admits the truth of the sharp saying of Erasmus: "Christ drove out of the Temple those who bought and sold; but those who buy and sell have driven Christ out of the Church." When Carafa became Pope Paul IV, in 1555, a medal was struck showing Christ driving the thieves out of the Temple. Quite interesting, this papal medallic admission that there were thieves in the Temple. Quite true, also, that Christ drove the thieves out of the

JOHN SLEIDANUS.
Historian of the Smalcald League.

CHANCELLOR BRUECK.

Temple. There is only a case of mistaken identity: it was not the Holy Father Pope Paul, but the Monk Martin Luther through whom Christ did the driving. Take it from a Catholic. W. S. Lilly writes: "It is beyond question that Luther's Revolution was the salvation of the Papal Church. A Catholic historian has called the Council of Trent the greatest thing effected by him."

Just by the way, this good Catholic Pope Paul IV cursed the good Catholic Kaiser Karl as lustily as any Lutheran could desire.

The Elector of Saxony refused to attend the Reichstag of Worms in 1545 unless the Kaiser promised a free Christian council instead of that at Trent, and the Lutherans refused aid against the Turk unless guaranteed religious liberty, regardless of the Council of Trent.

Calvin also wrote a vigorous pamphlet against Paul III, and Sleidan, the great historian of the Bund of Schmalkalden, published two addresses calling on the Kaiser to depose the Antichrist, and end the Pope's temporal power.

The Reichstag lasted from March to August, and promised a conference and another Reichstag. As Hamlet said: "Words, words, words!"

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

Luther at Home.

I. Martin and Kate.

"Perhaps the cleanest, and surely the most momentous, of historic love-affairs was that of Friar Martin and Sister Catherine," says Preserved Smith. Since all the world loves a lover, let us look at these lovers.

Luther's books found their way even into the cells of monks and nuns, and as a result many of these pitiable people quit their begging, and got out into God's wide world, and ate their own bread after an honest day's work.

When nine nuns of Nimbschen, near Grimma, begged their kin to take them out, and begged in vain, they begged Luther, and begged not in vain. Leonard Koppe of Torgau, at the risk of his sixty-year-old life, hid them in herring-barrels, drove them to Luther's door, and drove off, Tuesday after Easter, 1523.

Luther lost neither his head nor his heart. With a cool head and a big heart he placed them in good families. One of them, Katherine von Bora, of an ancient noble family, found a home in the family of Philip Reichenbach, a prominent burgher of Wittenberg.

In October she was presented to King Christian II of Denmark, who presented her with a gold ring as a token of his esteem.

Jerome Baumgaertner, a graduate of Wittenberg, was visiting Melanchthon, and promptly fell in love with "St. Catherine of Siena," as she was called by the students. On leaving, he promised to return to her in a few weeks.

On October 12, 1524, Luther wrote the young patrician of Nuernberg there was a Richmond in the field; but on January 23, 1525, he married a girl of fourteen summers

KATE LUTHER, 1529.
After Cranach, in Milan.

MARTIN LUTHER, 1529.
After Cranach, in Milan.

and many dollars, and they say Kate actually fell ill over the affair.

Kate was urged to accept Pastor Glatz, of Orlamuende, but Kate would have none of Dr. Glatz, no, indeed! Never! So there! Amsdorf thought this aristocratic pride, and would

LUCAS CRANACH.

know whether a doctor or pastor were not good enough. Kate quite frankly said she would accept Amsdorf or Luther — if she were asked.

Brother Martin also thought this Fraculein rather aristocratic, but, well, we first endure, then pity, then embrace. On June 13, 1525, the monk and the nun were married, a crime which the civil law punished with death.

Luther invited Bugenhagen, Jonas, the jurist Apel, and Lucas Cranach and his wife to the cloister. Melanchthon was conspicuous by his absence, also Schurf, who opposed the marriage on legal grounds, civil and ecclesiastical. After the customary ceremonies a little supper was served. That ended the "engagement." Next day at ten a dinner was given to the friends, for which the city council gave four measures of Malmsey, four measures of Rhenish, and six measures of Frankish wine.

On the 27th of June the public church-wedding took place, to which Luther's parents and many friends were invited, including the daredevil Koppe.

Venison was donated. The city council gave twenty gulden, and a barrel of the beer that made Eimbeck famous. The university sent a loving-cup of silver with gold decorations. The Elector John presented the unfinished cloister with special privileges to the newly wedded, also one hundred gulden to fill the first market-basket. They say the wedding-rings were made by Willibald Pirkheimer of Nuernberg, who also gave a gold medal with Luther's picture. Another present of twenty gulden for Kate came from — well, guess! You would not guess it in a hundred years — from Cardinal-Elector — Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz! Martin wanted it returned; Kate didn't want it returned; it wasn't returned. Return a valuable present? The idea!

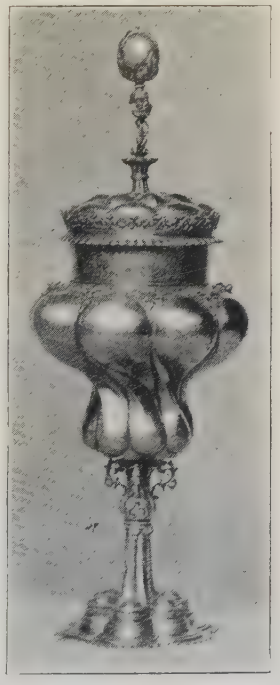
Master Lucas Cranach painted the portraits of the young couple — he forty-two, she twenty-six. Duerer said Cranach could depict the features, but not the soul; a thousand pities Duerer or Holbein could not give us portraits of this famous couple.

We do not know what Kate had on, but Martin kept himself so well groomed that his enemies called him "a fine courtier," for he wore "shirts with bands," a ring, and yellow boots.

This was the real beginning of the Protestant parsonage, which has showered the world with the choicest blessings.

All the world and his wife sat up and took notice. Mrs. Grundy grumbled and Miss Sally Slander slandered. That paragon of domestic virtue, Henry VIII of England, had the bridal couple put into an obscure comedy on November 10, 1527, and the saintly Sir Thomas More mocked at

LUTHER RINGS.



A WEDDING-PRESENT.

"Friar Luther and Kate Callate, his nun, lusking together in lechery." Emser wrote porcine poetry about the marriage, and Eck published a whole volume of swinish sneers. The rage of the Catholics at "the monk Priapus and the nun Venus" was, for the most part, expressed in language not fit to repeat.

Now the Antichrist was to be born, said the Catholics,

for he was to come from the union of a monk and nun. If that were so, there certainly were many anti-Christs, joked the good Catholic Erasmus. That sneer lifts the lid from the monasteries, and what a sink it uncovers!

Kate was no fool, she could read and write, which was more than most women could do in those good old times under the papacy, and she even knew some Latin. Luther offered her fifty gulden to read the Bible through by Easter, and she became quite interested. Later he says: "Katie understands the Bible better than any papists did twenty years ago." She learned the 31st Psalm by heart.

Kate had no gold, but she was as good as gold, better than much fine gold. She began to enjoy her honeymoon with a thorough house-cleaning, so dear to the heart of every good Hausfrau. The old bachelors' quarters certainly needed it. "Before I was married, the bed was not made up for a whole year. But I worked all day and was so tired at night that I fell into bed without knowing that anything was amiss." That knight of labor surely broke all union rules by working overtime without extra pay.

Kate started her day's work at four in the morning, and what did she get for her pains? "Morning Star of Wittenberg," Martin mocked poetically — and proudly, methinks.

Martin in his study might make a specialty of godliness; Kate about the house made a specialty of the next best thing, of cleanliness, and installed bathrooms and bathtubs. In order that her Martin might get his three square meals daily and regularly, Kate started a vegetable garden, for which Link at Nuernberg and Lang at Erfurt sent seeds. Martin proudly sent a mess of his garden-sass to Amsdorf with Katie's compliments, and boasted he had raised the Erfurt giant radishes himself. A vineyard requiring six hundred palings furnished the raw material for grape-jelly and -jam. The orchard furnished nuts, apples, pears, peaches, and cherries for dessert; they even tried fig- and mulberry-

LUTHER'S KATE.
From a Medallion of 1540.

KATHARINA VON BORA.

trees. Kate kept horses, cows, goats, chickens, ducks, geese, pigeons, and bees. No, everything was not lovely; Luther felt like issuing an edict "against the nuisance of sparrows, crows, and woodpeckers that spoil everything."

Some suppose fish a good brain-food. No insinuations, but Kate dug a pond, and stocked it with pike, bass, carp, and trout, and the "archcook" just beamed with joy when she could serve these denizens of the deep.

Kate brewed good beer, which Martin found to be a diuretic, a purgative, and a soporific, certainly a good triple alliance for a constipated bookworm. Kate built and stocked a pigsty, and the irrepressible Martin promptly and gravely dubbed her "My Lord Kate, Mistress of the Pigsty." And the philosophic Martin studied these philosophic animals and philosophized on their philosophy.

He writes to Spalatin: "I have planted a garden, dug a well, both with good success. Come, and you shall be crowned with lilies and roses." Can Horace or Omar equal that? We trow not. Here is the same love of simplicity, the same love of nature, the same joy of living, but all sanctified by Christianity.

Prof. Hedge of Harvard calls Luther "a leader in the way of tenderness for the brute creation, a lover of nature, close observer of the habits of vegetable and animal life, the first naturalist of his day."

On November 26, 1539, Kate ordered the housedoor of cut sandstone, which Lauterbach got for her at Pirna. One side shows Luther's bust, the other his coat of arms; the motto is from Is. 30, 15: "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

Prof. Luther's salary all along had been a hundred gulden; on his marriage it was doubled; in 1532 it was raised to three hundred; in 1536 donations equal to another hundred were added; in 1541 a pension of fifty gulden was added; in his last year a like pension was donated by King Chris-

tian II of Denmark; in 1520 a legacy of hundred gulden fell to him; on his father's death two hundred and fifty.

Now and then a present would find its way to Luther's house. The Elector sent him cloth for a new gown for the trip to Marburg; he would not think of wearing such fine

ENTRANCE TO LUTHER'S HOUSE.

clothing were it not the gift of a prince! Fine courtesy, surely. The Augsburger Hans Honold willed the Doctor a precious goblet. The Nuernberger Abbot Friedrich Pistorius sent an artistic clock, Link another, another a third. The Moravian elders sent a dozen of Bohemian knives; Gerard Viscampius, cloth and two lamps. In 1535 there came fifty gulden from — well, from whom? From King Henry VIII of England!

Luther did not take the customary tuition from the students; he refused pay for preaching in the City Church for years; he refused a cool four hundred gulden a year for his manuscripts offered by a printer; he refused the thousand gulden for his German Aesop promised by Melanchthon; he refused a gift from the town of Zwickau; he refused two shares in a silver mine offered by the Elector for the translation of the Bible. Luther took pride in not selling his labor to the world for money. The printers waxed wealthy, the writer remained poor. His liberality and hospitality at times drove him into debt. The second year of his married life he was one hundred gulden to the bad. Having no money, he at one time gave a silver loving-cup to a needy student. Another time he even gave his baby's present to a beggar. He could not lend eight gulden to Brisger. He had to pawn four cups. Cranach would no longer take Luther's signature for an indorsement. No wonder the butcher and baker and candlestick maker got ugly when they had to dun the lady of the house for the payment of their bills.

The soil was so sandy as to give rise to the joke that in windy weather ninety-nine per cent. of the real estate was up in the air; and yet Kate invested her savings in this real estate for gardens to make ends meet. At last Luther's property was valued at nine thousand gulden and his personal effects at a thousand gulden.

"I am rich, God has given me my nun and three children. What care I if I am in debt; Katie pays the bills." Quite true, and she even saved a bit. But in doing so she got the name of being close. Poor woman, she had to be tight-fisted, for Martin was so open-handed. "I would not exchange my Kate for France and Venice, because God has given her to me, and other women have much worse faults." "Katie, you have a husband who loves you; many an empress is not so well off."

The monk had to patch his own trousers, of course, and

he did so after marriage. Once he needed a patch, and calmly cut one from the good trousers of his little Hans. When Kate complained, the culprit pleaded: "The hole was so large that I had to have a large patch for it." True, no doubt, but was the defense satisfactory to "My Lord Kate"? To the innocent bystander it seems that sometimes it was the husband's fault when wifey waxed eloquent.

II. Luther and His Children.

Hans was born on June 7, 1526; Elizabeth on December 10, 1527; Magdalene in 1529; Martin in 1531; Paul in January of 1533; Margaret in December of 1534.

Father Luther was very fond of his children. In his letters to Kate he never fails to put in a few words for the youngsters. In all literature we know of nothing to come up to his letter to Hans written from the Coburg in 1530. While he was there, Kate sent him a picture of Lena, and Luther placed it on the mantel so that he could see it at table.

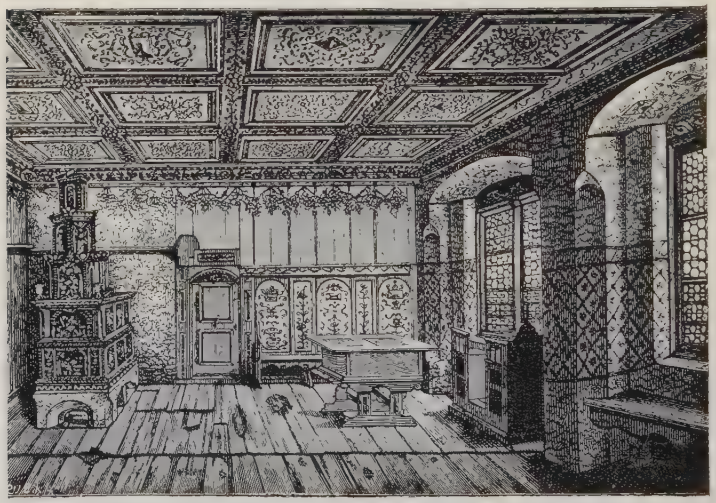
In 1532 Luther writes: "Kiss young John for me and bid Johnny, Lennie, and Aunt Lena pray for our dear prince and for me. Though a fair is on, I cannot in this town find anything for the children. Should I not bring anything decent, then you attend to it for me."

When little Lizzie died less than a year old, Luther wrote: "She has left me wonderfully sick at heart and almost womanish; I am so moved by pity for her. I could never have believed how a father's heart could soften for his child."

In her fourteenth year little Lena fell very ill. "I love her very much, but, dear God, if it be Thy will to take her, I submit to Thee." "Magdalene, dearest little daughter, would you like to stay here with your father, or would you willingly go to your Father above?" "Darling father, as God wills." "Dearest child, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." Then he turned away and said: "I love her very much; if my flesh is so strong, what can my spirit do?

God has given no bishop so great a gift in a thousand years as He has given me in her. I am angry with myself that I cannot rejoice in heart and be thankful as I ought."

Now as Magdalene lay in the agony of death, her father fell down before the bed on his knees, and wept bitterly, and prayed that God might free her. Then she departed and fell asleep in her father's arms. As they laid her in the



LUTHER'S LIVING-ROOM.

coffin, he said: "Darling Lena, you will rise and shine like a star, yea, like the sun. I am happy in spirit, but the flesh is sorrowful and will not be content, the parting grieves me beyond measure. I have sent a saint to heaven."

Though Luther was a fond father, he did not spoil his children; especially would he not brook disobedience. Once Johnny was banished from his father's face for three days, and it took all the eloquence of Kate and friends to bring the father around. When a nephew stole and lied about it, Luther ordered a whipping on three days in succession.

Luther gave a home to Kate's aunt, Lena, and to no less than eleven of his orphaned nephews and nieces. Wolf Sieberger could not make the ministry, and so he became the handy man about the place.

In the living-room hung a picture of Mary with the boy Jesus. Decorative and aromatic plants stood on the window-sill. A huge tile stove radiated genial warmth.

Peter Bayne, LL. D., writes: "The request addressed by Diogenes to Alexander is one that mankind will always sympathize with. Luther told the papacy to stand out of the world's light, to give free course to whatever sunbeams might be struggling down to cheer us. Artificial virtue, artificial vice: this is at bottom what the instinct of the world has accused the Roman system of setting up. Roughly, with abundance of error as to details, the world has believed, and, in the main, has rightly believed, that Luther broke the spell of ecclesiastical law and monastic tutelage, and brought men out into the open air of natural ethics. He did not write, and never could have written, the couplet —

> Who loves not woman, wine, and song,
> Remains a fool his whole life long,

but the tens of thousands who have attributed this to him, and sung it in his honor, have rightly discerned that he resented with fiercest passion the ecclesiastical presumption which marked off the bounties of nature as, in God's sight, common and unclean. The consecration of the home is higher than the consecration of the convent. Martin Luther, housefather, with little Johnny Luther on his knee, as Mr. Spurgeon loves to picture him, is regarded as the world's defender against monkish ideals."

III. Some Visitors.

Margrave George of Brandenburg was a visitor at the Luther home, so was Albrecht of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights, whom Luther advised to become secular and marry, which he did. The Electress of

Brandenburg took the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran way, but her fourteen-year-old daughter Elizabeth tattled, and the Elector Joachim promptly clapped his wife into prison; she escaped and lived with the Luthers for three whole months, and Kate carefully nursed her during her illness. The daughter that had betrayed her mother came to visit now and turned Lutheran, and later introduced the Reformation in Brunswick. Other visitors were the Duchess of Muensterberg, a relative of the grim Duke George of Saxony, Prince John Ernest of Saxony, and Duke Francis of Lueneburg. Capito, Myconius, and Bucer were guests at the time of the "Concordia." A Bohemian noble, Hennick, a Waldensian, was a guest for a time, also a noble Hungarian, Matthias von Vai. According to English historians, William Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible, was with Luther at Wittenberg. According to Knox, Patrick Hamilton came to Luther in 1527; later he became the first Lutheran preacher and martyr of Scotland. Another guest at Luther's house was Robert Barnes, forced to flee for his faith in 1528; in 1531 he bore a letter from Luther to King Henry VIII.

When Prince George of Anhalt thought of taking lodgings with Luther in 1542, George Held warned: "In the house of the Doctor there lives a wonderfully mixed company consisting of young people, students, young girls, widows, old women, and children, for which reason there is a great noise in the house, wherefore many pity Luther." And yet Kate was anxious "with tears" to take her parents-in-law when they grew old. Saint Catherine of Siena!

In this large family Luther was a real house-priest. "On rising I pray with the children the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and also some Psalm."

The day began early; lecturing and preaching in the morning; dinner at ten; writing or other business in the afternoon; supper at five; conversation, music, reading, or writing; to bed at nine. "I have to hurry all day to get

time to pray. It must suffice me if I can say the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and one or two petitions besides, thinking on which I fall asleep."

Certainly a *child* of God.

On November 6, 1535, the papal legate Peter Paul Ver-

PETER PAUL VERGERIUS.

gerius came to Wittenberg with twenty-one horses and one mule. He lodged in the Castle and at once invited the heretic to bathe and sup with him. Luther declined to be surveyed so closely, but promised to dine with him on the morrow.

When the barber asked why he was sent for so early, Luther roguishly said he wished to look young in order to make the Roman think: "O the devil! is Luther still so

young and has done so much damage, how much more will he do?"

The ruse worked well. The legate reported Luther looked like a man under forty, "pleasant and serene."

Luther dressed in his best, put on rings and a necklace with a locket in order to impress the curious legate. The legate was certainly impressed with the quick and fiery eyes of Luther, just as Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg had been impressed with the demonic eyes of this "German beast." How polished these polite Italians were!

Vergerius was quite sure this beast never had the ability to write his books unless with the aid of the devil. He told the Pope a high authority — King Ferdinand? — had told him it wanted only a hint, and all Germany would rush greedily on the Church and pour into Italy, craving as the sole reward the overthrow of the Pope and all his crew.

Later this cardinal became a Protestant, as did Ochino, General of the Capuchins.

The hard-headed Luther had no use for Mrs. Eddy, faith-healers, *et al.* "Our burgomaster asked me whether it was against God's will to use medicine, for Carlstadt publicly preached that the sick should not use drugs, but should only pray to God that His will be done. In reply I asked the burgomaster if he ate when he was hungry, and when he said 'Yes,' I said, 'You may then use medicine, which is God's creature as much as food, drink, and other bodily necessities.'"

While the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther did not object to a stein of beer for any one who could stand it, he did very emphatically prescribe water to all who could not. In a thundering temperance lecture to Hans Polner he said in 1540, other men under the influence are happy and mild, they sing and joke, "but you fall into a fury. Such men ought to flee drink like poison, for it is a deadly poison to such natures."

While the gentle Melanchthon was very severe with the students, Luther was easy, mild, and encouraging to them. Melanchthon demanded the students rise when he entered the class-room; Luther would not have it, lest he become proud. At times he even took part in hazing the freshmen and made a speech to the victims.

IV. Luther's Table-Talk.

It was a custom for students to board with their professors, and so Kate also ran a sort of boarding- and lodging-house. If the boarders did not pay money, they worked; Jerome Weller, for instance, tutored Luther's boys. John Mathesius, another of these boarders, wrote the first Protestant Life of Luther in sermons for his people at Joachimsthal.

Old Samuel Johnson had one Boswell who made himself immortal by painting a pen-picture of the gruff old Doctor, warts and all; but Luther had a round dozen Boswells. They made notes of his talk at any and all times on any and all subjects, and later wrote 3,000 of them out more or less correctly and turned an honest penny by publishing them as Luther's "Table-talk," the most famous table-talk of all famous table-talks.

The first English version was made by Captain Henry Bell while in prison for about ten years, and printed in 1652 by order of the Parliament of Great Britain. Another translation was made in 1848 by William Hazlitt, son of the essayist. A selection by Smith and Gallinger came out in 1915.

Coleridge spent much time on this book, which Carlyle calls "the most interesting now of all the books proceeding from Luther, with many beautiful unconscious displays of the man, and what a nature he had." Froude thinks it "one of the most brilliant books of the world, as full of matter as Shakespeare's plays." The French historian Michelet had these talks in mind when he wrote: "And among these joys

TAKING DOWN LUTHER'S TABLE-TALK.
After Leys.

Luther had those of the heart, of the man, the innocent happiness of the family and home. What family more holy, what home more pure? Holy, hospitable table, where I myself, for a long time a guest, have found so many divine fruits on which my heart yet lives. Yes, the happy years I spent reading Luther have left me a strength, a vigor, which I hope God will preserve to me until death." Merimee writes: "The other night, when I could hardly breathe, I read Luther's 'Table-talk.' I like the big man with all his prejudices and his hatred for the devil." Preserved Smith thinks: "Taken as a whole, there is in all literature no more charming or fascinating book than these intimate revelations of Luther's heart, a heart and brain of the first order of greatness." "Luther's conversations are remarkable for their wealth of classical allusions."

The age was certainly one of "free speech"; everybody spoke in the most natural manner of what was quite natural and what everybody knew about. Gladstone says: "Boccaccio's extremely indecent *Decameron* was published in 1573 with express approval from the Roman Inquisition and with a brief from Pope Gregory XIII." Margaret of Navarre was one of the most devout and refined women of the sixteenth century, and yet she wrote a series of stories that no decent woman can now read with pleasure. England's Virgin Queen Elizabeth in her conversation used language that is shocking to us. Shakespeare's men and women certainly used the Queen's English. People spoke plain English — emphasis on "plain." But in all of Luther's works of more than one hundred volumes in the Erlangen edition you cannot find anything frivolous or lascivious. At times he is as rough as a scaly bark hickory, but always sound to the core and pure at heart.

Luther was no prude, but he hated the nude. No "Art for art's sake" hypocrisy about the sturdy man. He even severely scored his friend Cranach for an indecent picture,

although it was a picture of the Pope! He was offended by the immodest low-necked dresses — "the women and the girls have begun to go bare before and behind." "The race of girls is getting bold, and run after the fellows into their rooms, and offer them their free love." He felt like quitting the town for good.

Luther's chief spiritual nourishment was the Bible. "Compared to the wisdom of the Hebrews, that of the Greeks is simply animal, for there can be no true wisdom without knowledge of the true God." The greatest German is ably seconded by the great English poet-scholar Milton in his *Paradise Regained,* and we agree with them, and we do not care who knows it. Goethe saw a Lutheran hymn-book lying on a table and sadly sighed: "With all that I have done, nothing that I have done will ever get into the Lutheran hymn-book." That is the one thing for which we like "the great Pagan." The least in the kingdom of the Lutheran hymn-book is greater than he.

"I confess that I am one of those who are more moved and delighted by poems than by the polished orations of even Cicero and Demosthenes. This is true even of profane poems, how much more of the Psalms."

"It is my opinion that on the last day an honest schoolmaster will be more honored than all the Popes." "Were I not a preacher, there is no profession on earth that I would sooner follow. One must not regard how the world esteems and pays it, but how God glorifies it every day."

"The Italian painters are so able and so full of genius that they can, in a masterly way, follow and exactly imitate nature in all their paintings; not only do they get the proper color and form in all the members, but they even make them appear as if they lived and moved. Flanders follows Italy, and imitates her in some measure, for the men of the Low Countries, especially the Flemish, are cunning and artful."

"Music is a noble gift of God, next to theology. I would not exchange my little knowledge of music for a great deal. Youths should be trained in this art, for it makes fine, clever people."

"I heartily admire those noble exercises, especially two, music and gymnastic games; of which the former serves to drive away care, the latter to practise the limbs by jumping and wrestling. But the most important reason is that we may not fall into other habits of drink, lust, and gaming, as, alas! we see at courts and in the cities. So it goes when manly exercises are despised."

Monk though he was, Martin had an artist's eye for sartorial beauty. "The Italian tailors are the best. They divide the labor, some making coats, some cloaks, and some trousers. But in Germany they do it hit or miss, making all trousers according to one pattern. Think what an eyesore it is to see a man with trousers like a rough pigeon and a coat so short that one can see his back between it and the trousers. There is a proverb that 'short-coated Saxons jump like magpies.'" No doubt a sight and a fright, but what about our Anglo-Saxons in collegian and varsity togs? And when we see a man sporting a Prince Albert over an outing shirt, we wish ourselves turned into the Goddess of Justice, who appears blindfolded.

The chivalrous knight crops out in this: "Cannon are the very invention of Satan himself, for here one cannot fight with sword or fist, and all bravery perishes."

Luther was a good patriot. He asked to be taxed for the war against the Turks, and he wanted his husky boy Paul to fight against the Turks.

The Doctor was playing with his dog and said: "The dog is the most faithful of animals and would be much esteemed were it not so common. Our Lord God has made

His greatest gifts the commonest." One of the children had a dog yclept Toelpel (clown) who was the occasion of this sermonette: "We see now the meaning of this text, 'Ye shall rule over the beasts of the field,' for the dog bears everything from the child." Luther does not seem to have had an un-

NICHOLAS COPERNICUS.

qualified admiration for Peter Weller's dog. "If I were as devoted to prayer as Peter's dog is to food, I could get anything from God, for the beast thinks of nothing the livelong day but licking the platter." That isn't the orthodox way of "leading a dog's life."

Faust lived at Wittenberg in the thirties of the sixteenth century, and the first treatment of the story connects

him with Luther's teaching and table-talk, and thus Luther is brought into direct relation with the English Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus" and with the German Goethe's "Faust."

"I believe that Moses spoke according to our power of comprehension, describing the moon as it seems to us." And yet Luther calls Copernicus "the fool who wants to change the whole science of astronomy." "I praise astronomy and mathematics, which have to do with demonstrations. For astrology I have no respect." Astrology tries to tell a man's fortune from the position of the stars at his birth, and this folly was believed by almost everybody. Luther scoffed at it, much to the scandal of Melanchthon, to whom it was an article of faith. "I have no patience with such stuff. Let any man answer this argument. Esau and Jacob were born of the same father and mother at the same time and under the same planets, but their natures were wholly different. I caught the Pope by his hair, and he caught me by mine. I married a runaway nun and begat children with her. Who saw that in the stars? Astronomy is very well, astrology is naught. The example of Esau and Jacob proves it."

Father Luther favored all forms of innocent amusement and recreation. He played a good game of chess; he rolled tenpins; he turned a lathe; he attended shooting-contests; he planted trees; he hiked with the hunters, not to hunt animals, but to be in God's great and good outdoors, field and forest. He urged outdoor sports in place of drinking. He favored the theater, which was at that time a vehicle of religious instruction. He favored dances, that the young people might learn courtesy and become acquainted — "But let all things be done decently! Let honorable men and matrons be invited to see that everything is proper." This refers to square dances; when the round dances were introduced, he protested most vigorously against the indecency of the waltz imported from France.

Prof. Hedge of Harvard calls Luther a "humorist and satirist, exhibiting the playfulness and pungency of Erasmus without his cynicism." Dr. Bayne places Luther in the first rank of humorists, with Aristophanes of Greece, Rabelais of France, and Shakespeare of England. Carlyle knew many books, "but in no books have I found a more robust, I will say noble, faculty of a man than in these of Luther. A rugged, honest homeliness, simplicity; a rugged, sterling sense and strength. He flashes out illumination from him; his smiting idiomatic phrases seem to cleave into the very secret of the matter. Good humor, too, nay, tender affection, nobleness, and depth: this man could have been a poet, too!" Preserved Smith says Luther's "influence on the ideals and culture of many an age to come will remain."

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

Luther's Death.

The irregular and scanty meals Luther earned by singing as a student, the senseless fastings and vigils in the cloister, his bachelor life till he was forty-two, his strenuous labors at his desk in the Wartburg and at Wittenberg brought on ill health; he suffered from indigestion, nervous depression, rheumatism, gout, sciatica, ulcers, abscesses in the ears, palpitation of the heart, the stone.

On July 6, 1527, he had a severe attack and at 8 A. M. sent for Pastor Bugenhagen, confessed, and desired absolution and comfort from God's Word, and commended himself and family to God. At 5 P. M. he fell on the floor unconscious. Jonas poured cold water on his face and back. When he came to, he prayed to God and regretted not having been found worthy to shed his blood for Christ, and called on those present to witness his confession. He could say with a good conscience he had taught rightly and helpfully the chief articles of God's Word according to the command of God, who had led him into this business, drawn and forced him without his will. He had never regretted his violence of speech or writing, since he had never sought anybody's harm, but everybody's salvation. Excepting a few silver mugs, he had not a thing in all the world to leave his family.

Doctor Augustine Schurf rubbed him with hot cloths and produced circulation and perspiration, and the danger passed over. "For over a week I was thrown back and forth in death and hell." On August 2d he wrote Melanchthon every limb of his body was still trembling.

The pestilence breaking out, the University moved to Jena on August 15. Though the Elector urged Luther to leave, he remained in Wittenberg and helped Pastor Bugenhagen among the stricken and dying. The wife of Burgo-

BUGENHAGEN, POMERANUS.

JUSTUS JONAS.

master Tilo Dene almost died in the arms of the Reformer. In November the plague struck little Hans and carried off Mrs. Roerer in Luther's house while Kate was in delicate health.

When the "English Sweat" broke out in 1529 and scared everybody, Luther mocked at the "new-fangled disease."

In 1535 the pestilence broke out again; again Luther remained at his post, although the Elector again earnestly urged him to leave, and Kate resolutely stood by him. In 1537 he was sick unto death at Schmalkalden, as we have seen in a former chapter.

In spite of much illness Luther kept a look of uncommon youth and vigor. His eyes were dark, with a yellow ring around the pupils, and all were impressed by the restless fire flashing from them, and by the lionlike mien of the man. His hair grew gray, but not thin.

In 1542 Luther made his so-called second will; he drew it up himself, without the help of lawyers, whom he detested. Because legal proceedings might be raised upon his marriage, he left his wife to the special protection of the Elector. His children, friends, servants, were all remembered. "Finally, seeing I do not use legal forms, I desire all men to take these words as mine. I am known openly in heaven, on earth, and in hell also; and I may be believed and trusted better than any notary. To me, a poor, unworthy, miserable sinner, God, the Father of mercy, has entrusted the Gospel of His dear Son, and has kept me therein true and faithful. Through my means many in this world have received the Gospel, and hold me as a true teacher, despite popes, emperors, kings, princes, priests, and all the devil's wrath. Let them believe me also in the small matter of my last will and testament, this being written in my own hand, which otherwise is not unknown. Let it be understood that here is the earnest, deliberate meaning of Doctor Martin Luther, God's notary and witness of His Gospel, confirmed by his own hand and seal. — January 6, 1542."

In 1545 a report was printed at Rome that Luther had died. It told how he demanded his body be placed on an altar and receive divine worship, but the devil got his beloved son, damned in body and soul.

Luther simply reprinted his death notice, and said he

LUTHER ABOUT 1540.
After Cranach, Jr.
Discovered in 1913.

enjoyed it hugely. He thus practically cracked Mark Twain's famous joke hundreds of years before the funny American was born, *viz.,* that his death was "greatly exaggerated."

On November 10th he celebrated his birthday for the last time. The Elector had sent some Supstitzer, Gorcberger, and Jena wine, a score of carp, and a hundredweight of pike—

"fine fish." The old warrior was very jolly with his guests, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Major, and Eber; but at parting he was very serious and solemnly said: "During my life, please God, there will be peace in Germany; but when I am dead, there will be great need of praying. Our

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.
Engraved by J. M. Bernigeroth from painting by Lucas Cranach.
Discovered in 1902.

children will have to grasp the spear; there will be dreadful times in Germany." He earnestly begged his guests to be faithful to the Gospel.

A week later he closed his last lecture at the university—"This is the dear Genesis; God grant others do better with

it after me; I can do no more, I am weak. Pray God to grant me a good, blessed hour."

He said: "If I die in my bed, it will be a grievous shame to the Pope. Popes, devils, kings, and princes have done their worst to hurt me; yet here I am. The world for these two hundred years has hated no one as it hates me. I, in turn, have no love for the world. I know not that in all my

CASTLE OF MANSFELD.

life I have ever felt real enjoyment. I am well tired of it. May God come soon and take me away."

In December, Luther went a second time to Mansfeld to settle a quarrel between the counts. The work was broken up by the sickness of Melanchthon, whom Luther personally took home.

In January, 1546, Luther calls himself "old, worn out, sluggish, weary, cold, and now even one-eyed," and yet the old warrior, on the 23d, again put on the armor of peace and set out for Eisleben. On the 25th they reached Halle.

where the flooded Saale halted them. Likely it was at this time Luther gave Jonas a goblet with this inscription —

To Jonas, a glass, gives Luther a glass, himself but a glass,
That each may know he's like breakable glass.

On the 28th they left Halle, escorted by a guard of honor of one hundred and thirteen heavily armed horsemen. On February 1st he wrote Kate: "As I drove through the village [Nissdorf], such a cold wind blew from behind through my cap on my head that it was like to turn my brain to ice. M. L., Your old lover."

Kate was worried, and Martin wrote her loving letters of comfort with the characteristic Lutheresque combination of serious humor or humorous seriousness. The aged couple were as devoted to one another as young cooing lovers, — it is touching. And yet some people can see no romance in their marriage!

On the 14th the great preacher preached in St. Andrew's on Matt. 11, 25 ff., his last sermon. He had to cut it short — "Much more might be said on this Gospel, but I am too weak; let this suffice."

At table there was much talk of sickness and death, and Luther said: "When I get back home again to Wittenberg, I will lay myself in my coffin and give the maggots a fat doctor to eat."

On the 17th, peace was agreed on, and Luther signed it. They begged him to spare himself and rest in his room. In the forenoon he walked up and down, or lay on a leather couch. In the afternoon he felt a sharp pain in the chest, and was rubbed with hot cloths. At supper he was cheerful, and spoke with wonted vigor of death and the resurrection. He soon went upstairs to his bedroom and prayed at the window. Another severe pain in the chest. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld came, and himself scraped some of a tooth of a narwhal in wine, and gave this precious remedy to the patient. He felt relieved and slept gently from 9 till 10 on the couch, sur-

rounded by two of his sons, Martin and Paul, their tutor Rudtfeld, Jonas, and Coelius. He awoke and said: "Are you still up? Don't you want to go to bed?"

Still thoughtful of others.

He went to bed, shook hands with all, as usual, and bade

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH AT EISENACH,
where Luther preached his last sermon.

them good night. He slept with regular breathing till 1 o'clock. Then he asked Rudtfeld to heat the room, though it had been heated. He said to Jonas: "O my God, what a great pain! O dear Dr. Jonas, I reckon I'll stay in Eisleben, where I was born and baptized."

Without help he went into the room, walked up and

down a few turns, repeating: "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Then he lay down on the couch and complained of a severe pain in the chest, though it did not yet touch the heart.

They called the host, the city clerk, John Albrecht, and

WHERE LUTHER DIED.

his wife, also the two doctors of Eisleben. The doctors found him as lifeless, they could not feel his pulse. Soon Count and Countess Albrecht of Mansfeld arrived, and Count and Countess of Schwarzburg.

While they were applying all kinds of remedies, Luther said: "Good God, I am in great pain and anguish: I am passing away!"

When Jonas and Coelius tried to cheer him, telling him a wholesome sweat had broken out, Luther said it was the cold sweat of death.

His last prayer was: —

"O my heavenly Father, one God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou God of all comfort, I thank Thee that Thou hast given for me Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, loved and praised, whom the wicked Pope and all the godless shame, persecute, and blaspheme. I pray Thee, dear Lord Jesus Christ, let me commend my little soul to Thee. O heavenly Father, if I leave this body and depart, I am certain that I will be with Thee forever, and can never, never tear myself out of Thy hands. God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Then three times in quick succession: "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, Thou faithful God."

"When he became so still," Jonas and Coelius "called strongly into him: 'Reverend father, will you stand steadfast by Christ and the doctrine you have preached?' "

He answered, "that you could hear it distinctly"—"Yes."

He turned on his right side, and slept a quarter of an hour. The Countess of Mansfeld and the doctors rubbed his pulse with *aqua vitae* and rose vinegar. The feet and nose grew cold. Luther fetched a deep, gentle breath, and departed this life in peace at 2.45 in the morning of February 18, 1546.

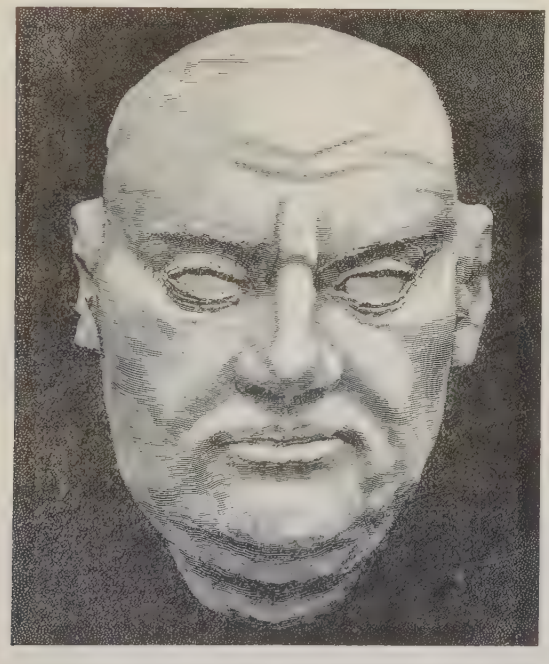
When the Catholic apothecary of Eisleben, John Landau, arrived, his efforts were in vain; the Prophet of Germany had already gone to the saints' everlasting rest.

One of the doctors said the immediate cause of death was a stroke of apoplexy come during a fainting-spell.

An hour after, Justus Jonas wrote out a careful account of Luther's last hours. Another interesting account has been

found in the United States in an old book from Germany; likely it was written by John Albrecht, the city clerk, in whose house Luther died.

The corpse was dressed in a long white linen shroud, placed in a zinc coffin, and in the afternoon of the 19th it lay



DEATH MASK OF LUTHER.
Taken at Halle.

in state in St. Andrew's Church, where Jonas preached from 1 Thess. 4, 13—18 and ten citizens of Eisleben kept the dead watch.

In the morning of the 18th an Eisleben artist painted the features of Luther, and the next day Lucas Fortnagel of Halle did the same; two days later a wax mask was taken at Halle, still kept in the library of St. Mary's Church.

On the 19th the news of Luther's death was brought to Wittenberg by an electoral messenger, and Melanchthon told the students human reason had not discovered the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and trust in the Son of God, but God had revealed it to Luther, whom God had raised up.

On the 20th Coelius preached from Is. 57, 1, and then the body was taken to Wittenberg.

Greater throngs than had followed the bier of even the Elector now honored Luther as the coffin was carried from dorp to dorp till it came to Wittenberg on the 22d, at 9 A. M.

The corpse was received at the Elster Gate, where Luther had burned the papal bull, and the procession at once wended its way through the town to the Castle Church.

Representatives of the Elector and the two Counts of Mansfeld with their horsemen rode ahead, about sixty-five men. Kate and a few women followed in a plain wagon. Next came the corpse with Luther's three sons, his brother James, and other Mansfeld relatives, the faculty of the University with the great number of students, the City Council and the people of Wittenberg, men and women, old and young, with loud weeping and lamentations.

In the church Bugenhagen preached to the people in German from 1 Thess. 4, 13—18, and then Melanchthon delivered an important oration in Latin. He said in the long line of divine instruments and teachers, beginning in the Old Testament, Luther had now taken his place. He had again brought to light the chief articles of Christian truth, built with one hand and used the sword with the other, as a man taught of God and exercised in severe spiritual battles, full of high courage and of an acute intellect, with an eloquence ranking him with the greatest orators. Melanchthon referred to Luther's human weaknesses, especially his violent temper, but, as Erasmus said, the diseases of the times demanded a severe physician. "With all his great dignity he was gracious, affable, and friendly, not storming and

Melanchthon's Grave. Luther's Grave.

THE RENOVATED CASTLE CHURCH.

quarrelsome; he had a heart without guile, was all that Paul demanded in Phil. 4, 8. His violence flowed from his zeal for the truth, and in all his battles he had kept a conscience void of offense. We are as poor orphans, who had an excellent man for a father, and are now bereft of him."

The corpse was buried near the pulpit. The monk damned by Pope and banned by Kaiser had a princely burial amid about twenty princes and princesses.

"If you look for a monument, look around you." The modern world of liberty in Church and State is his product and his monument. This truth is brought out forcefully in Kaulbach's great painting of "The Age of the Reformation." Here are gathered all the great ones of the modern world; in the center, holding aloft the open Bible, stands the master of them all, Martin Luther.

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